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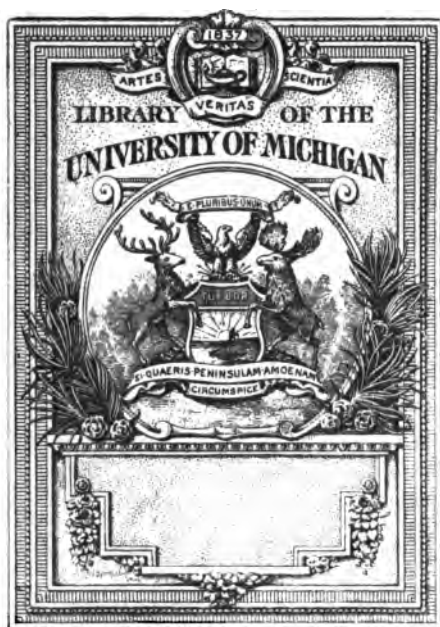
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1885



HAND-BOOK
OF
PROHIBITION.

1885.

BY

Andrew
A. J. JUTKINS, D. D.,
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Corresponding Secretary National Prohibition Party.

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PREFACE.

The "HANDBOOK OF PROHIBITION, 1885," simply aspires to the dignity of a tool. From our standpoint, we see ourselves at the beginning of a long and fierce struggle to carry civilization to a higher level. The old doctrines respecting alcohol are exploded in the higher ranks of intelligence, and the old treatment of the traffic in it, must harmonize with the newly-discovered facts. But to do this will require one of the fiercest intellectual and political encounters in human experience. We anticipate that the war will wax warm during the next four years, and the weapons must be ready.

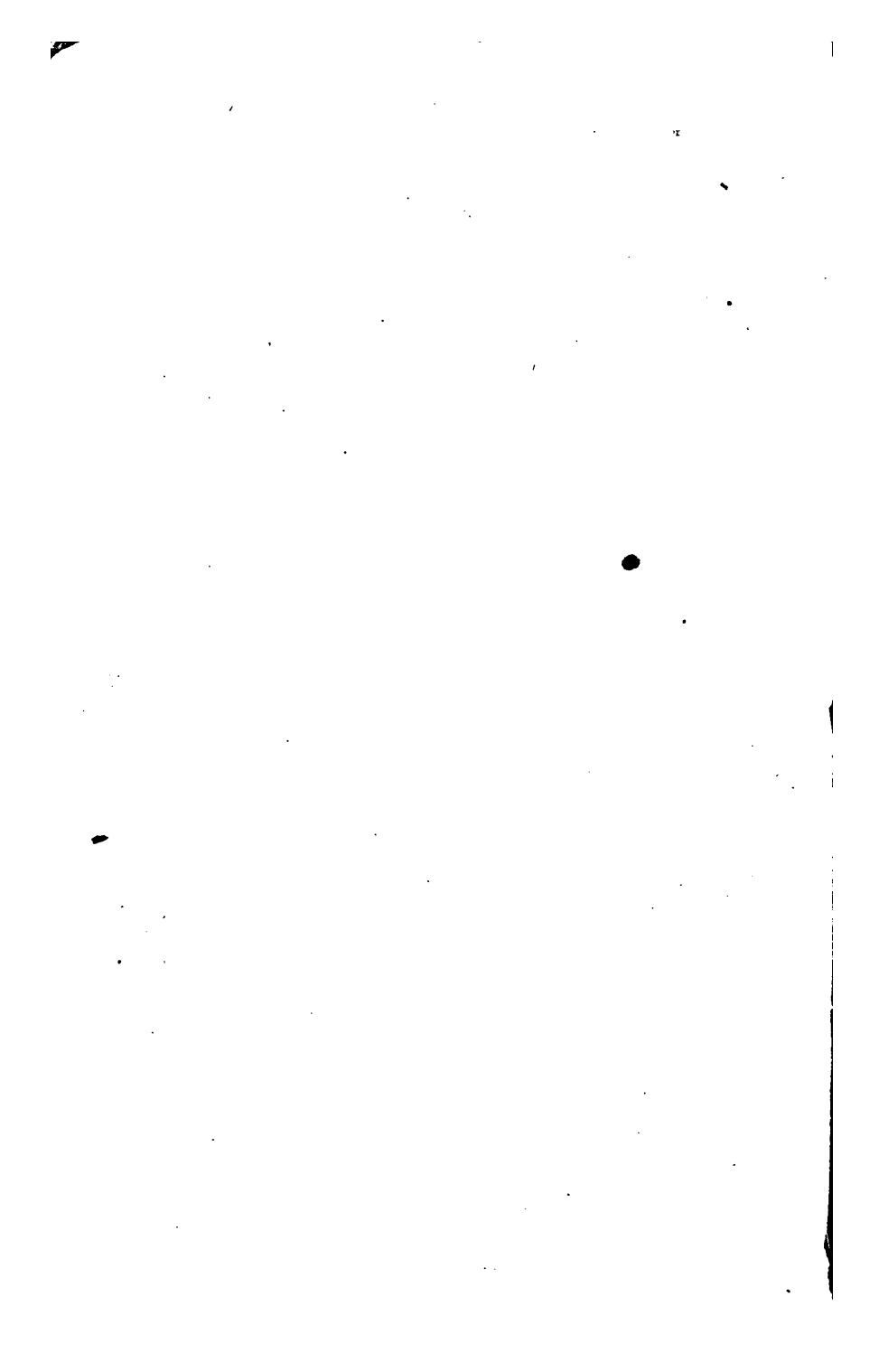
The year 1884 furnished a great mass of available material. Out of this we have selected what seemed to us best adapted to give accurate information upon the Prohibition movement. Among many excellent documents we could find room for only a few. To arrange and put in convenient form what will answer the questions which millions of men will be asking in the next four years, has been our purpose.

We have not covered any portion of the ground of the "HANDBOOK OF 1884." This is new. The events of the Presidential election we have sought to set forth impartially. Our limits would not admit of extensive detail, but we sought to give an intelligible idea of the contest.

We have made a beginning only in the matter of "Temperance Legislation." A few of the states, notably Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois and Wisconsin, show what we desire to do. Our limits were fixed at 160 pages: we have added 32 pages, and still have not the room to insert what we wish. By the help of many good friends, some of whose names appear in connection with their articles, we have secured the basis for what we hope to complete in a form so full and exact as to be an answer to the many questions now asked respecting the teachings of experience. To S. R. Moore, Esq., of Kankakee, and Hon. H. W. Austin, of Chicago, we are indebted for original documents and valuable information, correcting some popular errors in the history of Illinois legislation. We have no doubt there are mistakes, and important omissions in our best work. We hope that these may be noticed and corrected. Will our friends everywhere bear this in mind? Remember we do not offer the "HANDBOOK" as a history so much as a preparation for history—a contribution to a history yet to be written—but for the present a tool to be used in our great war against alcoholism.

A. J. JUTKINS.

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HANDBOOK OF PROHIBITION.

1885.

BY A. J. JUTKINS, D. D.

THE PIONEER BATTLE YEAR.

In speaking of 1884 as the "Pioneer Battle Year," it is proper to place the emphasis on the word "Battle." If some veteran in temperance work who remembers the year 1836, and the excitement which followed the adoption of the total abstinence pledge, should be inclined to adverse criticism, we should allow that he had some grounds for objection. Few realize that forty-eight years ago much the same state of things existed as exists now. The resolution declaring that henceforth the pledge should be *total abstinence from all that intoxicates* was offered by Justin Edwards, D. D., supported by Lyman Beecher, and adopted unanimously by the convention of about four hundred delegates, presided over by Chancellor Walworth. "But it was not approved by all who claimed to be the friends of the cause. Not a few whose temperance zeal consisted in an ardent desire to reform other people from rum and brandy, while they themselves drank wine without scruple, fell out of the ranks and were seen no more. Societies disbanded in every direction, prominent workers under the old pledge became silent when the new one was adopted, and once more the cry of 'fanaticism' filled the air, this time with some new voices in the chorus." (1.)

If the veterans of a past generation should insist that long ago they had battles worthy to rank with that of 1884, we should be inclined to explain rather than dispute. Ours is a political battle.

Although political action was taken in 1873 and every year since, it was not until 1884 that it took on proportions which justified the name of a battle, as distinguished from a skirmish. In this year, by a strange combination of circumstances, the Prohibition vote stood in such relations to the great result that the Prohibition party was held responsible for the defeat of Jas. G. Blaine and the great republican party. This charge had this only to sustain it: That if Prohibitionists had refrained from voting for *their* candidates, and had voted for Mr. Blaine, he would have been elected. But it might be said with equal propriety that if the democrats had refrained from voting for *their* candidates, and had voted for Mr. Blaine, he would have been elected

by the unanimous voice of the Electoral College. There is as much good sense in the one proposition as in the other. But with or without reason, the outcry raised against the Prohibitionists was loud and angry. Evidently some one had been hurt. The effort of the Prohibition party to extend and solidify its organization by securing as large a vote as possible for its candidates, resulted, owing to causes over which they had no control, in political changes of grave significance. A review of the political field after the election of November 4th, 1884, disclosed a condition of things that left no doubt that the party which had been jeered at as an effort pitifully weak and utterly contemptible had, in some strange way, come to the front. It was not a "fifth" party any longer. It was unmistakably "third" at least, and when listening to the chorus of republican denunciation, a doubt arose whether it was not the "first." Certainly more abuse has been heaped on it than all others combined.

It is in view of these considerations that we designate the year 1884 as the "PIONEER BATTLE YEAR." On the national field it is the first hot engagement. We expect there are "more to follow."

This band, which like Gideon's three hundred, has caused such strange panic and outcry, has a mission yet to accomplish. Strong in the confidence that they are right, that their cause will triumph because it is one of God's great movements, and anxious only that they keep in line with Him, the Prohibitionists thankfully review the past, and confidently face the future.

This little book is an attempt to trace the events of this historic year, as far as relates to the Prohibition party. For the facts of Prohibition history previous to 1884, and for a statement of Prohibition doctrines, the reader is referred to the "Hand Book of 1884."

REASONS FOR A PROHIBITION PARTY.

Among the reasons which influenced the leaders of Prohibition to organize as a political party, was the fact that they could thus secure for their doctrine an attention it would not otherwise receive. Essentially a question of public policy demanding the verdict of the sovereign people, its legitimate place was in practical politics, and in that place it would secure a hearing. It is safe to say that Prohibition has received more attention, that more people have thought, read and spoken about it during the last year than during any other ten years of history. It has been denounced as well as applauded, but, if it be true, it is safe to trust it to the rough encounters of political debate. Since it is a question which the voters of the country must decide, it is the part of wisdom to present it to the people that the voters may become acquainted with it. Many of these do not go to church nor read the magazines. They will discuss political questions, and now Prohibition is a

political question which cannot be dislodged or ignored. It has extended beyond the region of spiritless discussion, into the realm of interested contention.

It now becomes more than ever important that the clearest definitions be given, leaving no room for misapprehension. The answer to the question, "What is Prohibition?" if clear and exact is the best argument for it. The following from the "National Address" issued in 1882, has stood the test of criticism, and deserves repetition:

The "temperance reform" rests upon facts of nature and history, which few intelligent men will venture to deny.

First—Alcohol is a poison, destructive of health and life, and rendering the drunkard temporarily a madman, dangerous to society. The supposed benefits derived from a moderate use of alcoholic drinks are now known to be delusions.

Second—In consequence of the peculiar nature of alcohol to produce disease, of which a fierce appetite for itself is one of the traits, and of human cupidity, which is willing to make money by ministering to this appetite, a widespread custom of drinking alcoholic beverages has grown up and prevails.

Third—An inhuman and God-defying greed for money to carry on war in the first half of the eighteenth century, devised in the British parliament the scheme of making the traffic in alcoholic drinks a source of revenue, and fixed the "license system" upon the English-speaking world, making this traffic a monopoly to be protected, while conceding its destructive consequences.

Fourth—Under this system the most monstrous abuses and crimes have resulted, destructive of everything valuable to humanity, embarrassing capital, deranging labor, corrupting politics, jeopardizing the lives and property of citizens, planting disease not only in the guilty drinker, but in his innocent children, increasing in fearful proportion insanity, idiocy, misery and crime, and sapping the foundations of the republic by the destruction of its homes.

In view of these facts, organized efforts have been in progress for nearly eighty years to arrest the curse of alcoholism (2), first by attempts to secure moderation, then by personal total abstinence. These efforts soon resulted in showing those engaged in them, that it was impossible for philanthropy to succeed against the combined forces of appetite and cupidity, entrenched as were the latter in legalized monopolies. Whenever, in any neighborhood, there was found a man willing to take for his business the sale of alcoholic drinks, whose living depended on his success, who attended to that business day and night, who had the facilities to appeal to the social nature of youth as well as to appetite, it was found that he could bid successfully for the boy against the home and the school just at the time when he began to think he was too much a man to listen to the advice of friends. It is found that, in spite of all efforts, the ranks of the drunkards are kept full, the dram-shop being the successful recruiting station. Out of these facts grows Prohibition. Earnest and sensible people become tired of reforming drunkards, while the tremendous power of the state is lent, for a price, to form their habits of inebriety. By "Prohibition" we mean that the police powers of government shall be extended to suppress the traffic in poisoned drinks, as they have for a long time suppressed the traffic in poisoned and unwholesome meats. This definition has been before the world for at least thirty years,

yet there are writers and speakers who have the hardihood to appear before intelligent people and talk of prohibition as "sumptuary legislation," and an infraction of "personal liberty."

Every effort will be made to obscure the issue, to fix attention upon the drinker rather than the dealer, and so produce the very thing objected to, viz: an attempt to regulate personal habits. Intelligent Prohibitionists will fall into no such trap. They are dealing with what all legislation deals: crime and commerce. They demand that the law shall declare systematic and wholesale poisoning a crime, and deal with it accordingly. They demand that the commerce in poisoned drinks shall be outlawed.

But they are not impracticable or fanatical. If it be urged that these drinks may have a value as medicines, they reply: "Very well, if so put them where you put other medicines—in the drug stores, to be prescribed as other medicines are prescribed." Their war is not made on the *drug* alcohol, but on the *drinks* in which the poison drug is found. And so careful are they of personal liberty that they do not propose to interfere by law with the citizen who may manufacture alcoholic drinks and use them. The farmer may convert his apples into cider, ferment it, make it a poison drink, and use it in his family, and much as they may condemn the action, no attempt will be made to prevent him by law. Or the gardener may do the same with his grapes, and no interference will be attempted. But when he goes further, and becomes a dealer in these drinks, keeping them for sale, then the law steps in and says. "Though you may poison yourself and your family, you shall not poison your neighbors."

If it be objected that drinking cannot be entirely suppressed by such a law they reply that this may be true, but that two things are demonstrated by the partial and imperfect experiments of Prohibition, so far made: 1st, That prohibitory law releases the citizen from guilty complicity. Any other method in this country, where the people are sovereign, implicates the citizen in the crime of alcoholism. The case is very plain. Where a man is so far lost to all humane motives as to be willing to open a drinking-place, there are other people—a society. If there were no people he would not attempt to trade. These people are many; he is one. They are stronger, and without their consent, expressed or implied, he cannot sell. Formally or informally, he comes before his neighbors, with a request for their consent to allow him to sell them and their children, poisoned drinks. Of course he does not state it in this way, but this is the true statement. There are simply two ways of answering the question, and no third. The citizens may say, "Sell us and our children poisoned drink! Ask our consent to such a monstrous proposition! No!" Or it is in their power to say: "Yes, if anybody is fool enough to buy your poisoned drinks we do not care." Or they may make this answer, an answer which is

quite generally made: "You may sell your drinks if you will pay us a certain number of dollars, and observe certain regulations." Some persons claim to see in these conditions imposed, and tax laid, a refusal to grant their consent. But to common sense it is plain that these last say "Yes," and their tax is only an aggravation of the crime by sharing in the profits. No matter what the conditions, consent is given, and he who consents to a crime shares its guilt. It is only by saying "No," that the citizen can clear himself, and that "No" is Prohibition.

2d. Where Prohibition is enforced the drinking is reduced to a minimum. We shall not attempt to offer the proof in detail here, but in other places(3). It closes the distilleries and breweries, it shuts up the vicious resorts, it reduces disorder and crime, promotes wealth, morals and good health.

These two reasons are sufficient to justify Prohibition. As valid reasons they cannot be successfully impugned.

Another reason for placing this question in practical politics, is, that great as may be the difficulty of securing prohibitory laws, there is at least an equal, if not a greater, difficulty attending their enforcement. Whatever success may have attended the efforts of self-constituted committees of citizens in the enforcement of the laws, it is too plain for controversy, that the best conditions for law enforcement exist when a majority of the voters are organized as a party, elect the Legislature and the Executive and stand as their solid and reliable support. When these conditions exist the enforcement of law is attended with little difficulty. Under such conditions it is safe to say that the traffic in Alcoholic beverages would be more nearly obliterated in five years than stealing is now. It is a practice much more easily suppressed than stealing, and will be whenever the people are more anxious to suppress it than to elect a certain man or maintain a certain party. Then officers will put their hearts into the work of suppression and there will be no need to organize volunteer associations at large extra expense to secure the enforcement of law.

THE DRAM SHOP FROM A JUDICIAL STAND-POINT.

Judge John Martin, of the Third District Court of the State of Kansas, in passing sentence on one convicted of selling liquor contrary to law, made the following address.

[Judge Martin is a democrat, and was first appointed by Gov. Glick to fill a vacancy, and afterward elected to the full term:]

"For more than twenty years I have had ample opportunities for observing the working and effect of the business of selling intoxicating liquors, and I have not been able to discover a single feature, circumstance, or result that can commend it to the favorable consideration of any decent, respectable, or thoughtful man; and in this conclusion I think that you and all others will agree with me. It cannot even challenge the admiration or approval of ordinary bad men. I cannot conceive of any business or occupation more thor-

oughly demoralizing in its tendency and effects, or more destructive of public morals, public order and public decency than the business of selling intoxicating liquors. I cannot perceive a solitary benefit or advantage to be derived from it by a single human being. I cannot imagine a blessing or benefit of any kind that it brings or contributes to the welfare of a community. It brings moral and social death to those who engage in it, as well as those who patronize and sustain it. From its very nature, it brings you into contact with murderers, thieves, robbers, gamblers, drunkards, and every vicious element and class in society. That such associations can elevate or develop a man's character, intellectually, socially or morally, is simply impossible. That such associations will inevitably and always drag others down to a level of its own baseness and degradation, is absolutely certain, and under such circumstances and with this common knowledge which all men must possess, I am utterly unable to understand how it is possible for any man, with any sense of decency, or any apprehension of manhood, or any sentiment of honor, or anyone having any hopes or aspirations for respectable, social, or moral standing in the community, or having any regard for the confidence and respect of his fellow-men, can reconcile himself to the idea of becoming a common vender of intoxicating liquors. It seems to me that to engage in such a business, is to deliberately crush and banish from the heart forever, every sentiment, every hope, every ambition, every element of character that men generally value as being useful and beneficial to the world. It blights and destroys men's intellectual powers, and thus it makes our insane, idiots, and imbeciles. It deadens every sentiment of morality, decency, and honor, and thus men become debauched, corrupt, vicious, dishonest, and destitute of all sense of shame; and of every obligation of family relationship, friendship and citizenship.

It begets recklessness, carelessness, and utter indifference to, and disregard of, the rights, the interests and the happiness of others. It invites, encourages and necessarily develops all that is base, degrading and dangerous in man, and destructive of good government, good order, and common decency. It is a nursery for the development and growth of those wicked practices which lead to the crime of gambling (which after all is but another name for different forms of stealing) theft, robbery, arson, perjury, murder, and every sort of public crime, social wrong and private indecency. In other words, it is a school-house for the development and cultivation of every species of crime, and an institution for the preparation of men and women and children for the gutter, the poor-house, the insane asylum, the reform schools, the county jail, the penitentiary and the gallows. But this is not all; and while it makes men idiots and imbeciles by robbing them of their reason, and makes drunkards, destroys all self-respect, blights and blasts all manly aspirations, it also despoils men of their prosperity, and makes homeless and hungry wives and children, who shiver and starve in winter and starve and burn in summer; and after all, these are but a few of the long list of crimes and miseries that necessarily flow from the business of trafficking in intoxicating liquors. It may be possible that an honest man of ordinary intelligence may engage in such a business, but to me it seems impossible. A man who wilfully engages in it, deliberately defies the law and at once proclaims himself an enemy to public order, public decency and every interest, public and private, calculated to benefit the State, and that makes for the welfare of humanity. He purposely ignores and contemptuously disregards every interest that men hold to be

useful and good and robs himself of every consideration or plea for mercy or forbearance in his behalf.

He enters the business with his eyes wide open, with the statute book set before him. He reads it and knows that he is engaged in a business that the law forbids. He is fully advised of the risks and dangers he assumes. He is bound to recognize the fact he is engaged in the business of making criminals and unfortunates of every class and degree. He is thoroughly advised that he is filling the land with widows and orphans; the charitable institutions of the country with paupers and other unfortunates; the jails and reform schools with petty criminals; and the penitentiaries with felons of every degree; and yet, with a seared conscience, and an utter indifference to all these calamities, and for the mean and base purpose of making a few paltry dollars, that will, in the end, burn his pockets, and bring disgrace and ruin upon him, he deliberately embarks in the disgraceful traffic. The pretended excuse that the law on the sale of intoxicating liquors is in many respects unjust, is no sort of defense or excuse. In this country the laws are made by the people, and our theory of government is that the majority must rule; and when the properly constituted authorities of the state have determined what the law is, it then becomes the duty of every citizen to obey it, until such time as its objectionable features can be removed in a lawful and orderly way, and it is particularly the duty of those who are charged with its administration to see to it that the law, whatever it may be, is reasonably, justly and fairly enforced, and the public officer who fails or refuses to perform his duty, is simply guilty of perjury; and it is further the duty of such officers to give the moral support of their offices in favor of the observance and enforcement of the constitution and laws of the state, and in favor of good order and decency in the community, in order that the citizens may be properly protected in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property, and the public officer who neglects to perform his duty, ceases to be worthy of public confidence, and forfeits all claim to the support of decent, thoughtful and law-abiding citizens. It seems to me that for any public officer to throw the moral influence of his official position, or to use it in such a manner as to encourage lawlessness and violence, and to give encouragement and power to the criminal and vicious elements in society, is to become a party to the crimes that may be committed by reason of his misconduct. The idea that only such laws as you and I may think to be just ones shall be obeyed, is a betrayal of a lamentable ignorance of the very objects and purposes of government. If one man be permitted to set up his individual judgment as to the propriety of obeying any particular law, we must accord to every other citizen the same right with respect to any other law or class of laws; and the inevitable result must be a condition of lawlessness and anarchy. Under such circumstances every man becomes a law unto himself, and the strong will subordinate the rights and the interests of the weak to his own pleasure, and thus we have an end of civil government, and the lives, liberties and property of the citizens are absolutely without protection. This is a proposition so plain and simple that it can be readily understood and appreciated by every man, and appeals to the judgment, wisdom, justice and patriotism of every citizen to stand by the constitution and laws of the land as being the surest, safest and best protection for all these great interests."

THE ST. JOHN MOVEMENT.

One of the results of the presidential election of 1884 is to awaken the inquiry: "What is the St. John movement?" Hundreds of thousands who never knew there was such a thing as a Prohibition party, have heard from the partisan press, and in other ways about some sort of "movement" called after St. John, and are anxious to know what it is. For more full and complete information the reader is referred to the Hand-Book of Prohibition for 1884, pp. 127-146. But a brief statement is appropriate in this place.

On Wednesday, September 1, 1869, nearly 500 delegates from twenty different states assembled in Farwell Hall, Chicago, under a "call" issued by a committee consisting of John Russell of Detroit, Mich., Dan'l Wilkins of Bloomington, Ill., J. A. Spencer of Cleveland, Ohio, John N. Stearns of New York City, and James Black of Lancaster, Pa. This committee was appointed by the "Right Worthy Grand Lodge of Good Templars," at Oswego, N. Y., May 25, 1869. This convention was called to organize a National Prohibition party. It was made up of people who had been toiling for "temperance by all moral suasive efforts" for years. They had tried all the methods recommended. As a result of experience, they agreed to organize a Prohibition party, and appointed a "central committee." On the 9th of December, 1871, John Russell, chairman, and Gideon T. Stewart, secretary, issued a call for a nominating convention to assemble at Columbus, Ohio, February 22, 1872. It convened accordingly, was organized by the appointment of S. B. Chase of Pennsylvania, president, and nine vice presidents. The following extracts from the "declaration of principles," deserve a place in the permanent literature of the country:

2. That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, inimical to the best interests of society, a political wrong of unequaled enormity, subversive of the ordinary objects of government, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever, but imperatively demanding for its suppression effective legal Prohibition, by both state and national legislation.

3. That while we recognize the good Providence of Almighty God in supervising the interests of this Nation from its establishment to the present time, having organized our party for the legal prohibition of the liquor traffic, our reliance for success is upon the same Omnipotent arm.

4. There can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing party competition for the liquor vote; that any party not openly opposed to the traffic, experience shows, will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every other object of good government for party success.

5. That while adopting national political measures for the prohibition of the liquor traffic we will continue the use of all moral means in our power to persuade men away from the injurious practice of using intoxicating beverages.

6. That we invite all persons, whether total abstainers or not, who recognize the terrible injuries inflicted by the liquor traffic, to unite with us for its overthrow, and secure thereby peace, order, and the protection of persons and property.

The convention nominated James Black of Pennsylvania, and Rev. John Russell, of Michigan, for president and vice president, and these candidates received 5,608 votes in the six states of Connecticut, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

At a convention held in Cleveland, Ohio, May 17, 1876, Hon. Green Clay Smith of Kentucky was nominated for president, and Hon G. T. Stewart for vice president, and they received 9,757 votes in seventeen states.

The third nominating convention also was held in Cleveland, Ohio, June 17, 1880. Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., of Boston, Mass., was president, aided by eleven vice presidents from as many states, viz:

J. L. Palmer, of Arkansas,	represented by two (2) delegates.
George. P. Rogers, Connecticut,	" " nine (9) "
Dr. J. B. Morgan, Iowa,	" " one (1) "
Isaac C. Stearns, Minnesota,	" " one (1) "
Rev. Geo. F. Clark, Massachusetts,	" " twenty-one (21) del.
Prof. I. W. McKeever, Michigan,	" " nine (9) delegates.
Rev. S. E. Webster, New Jersey,	" " three (3) "
J. W. Bruce, New York,	" " nine (9) "
Dr. J. B. Bowman, Ohio,	" " forty-three (43) del.
Mrs. M. McClellan Brown, Penn.,	" " thirty-nine (39) "
E. W. Foote, Wisconsin,	" " four (4) delegates.

There were in all one hundred and thirty-nine delegates. Hon. Neal Dow of Maine was nominated for president, and Rev. H. A. Thompson, D. D., of Ohio for vice president. The national committee consisted of twenty-two members, two from each of the states represented.

These facts will show the state of the party at this date. The canvass proceeded as on former occasions. No special efforts were made to bring the candidates or principles of the party to the attention of the people, by speeches of the candidates or others. Some documents were circulated, a few papers advocated the claims of the party, but no general interest was awakened. That there was enough of the movement to attract the notice of the politicians was manifest, however, by the fact that a few hours before the election was to occur a report was sent out and printed in the partisan journals that Mr. Dow had withdrawn. It was ascertained to be a false report, but the correction was very slow in appearing, if it appeared at all.

No exact account of the number of votes cast can be given, nor is it material. As given upon the authority of Hon. James Black, chairman of the national committee, there were 10,307 votes

cast in fifteen states. Other states show small votes, as for example, California sixty-one, and others, but the number is not material. These were voters who simply out of their convictions, and in spite of difficulties, were willing to break away from the old parties and vote for Prohibition as the supreme political issue. They were scattered in most of the states, and whether there were 10,307 votes or more, the significance of the fact resides in the inherent merit of the principle. If it be one of the "plants" which "The Heavenly Father" hath planted, it will be impossible to root it out.

A little reflection upon the facts hinted at in the above paragraphs, and a slight acquaintance with the Pittsburgh convention, will show that it was in every sense the successor of the Cleveland convention in 1880. The same men were in both. The same doctrines were enunciated. The same objects were sought. The numbers were greatly increased, and the methods of conducting the canvass were changed, but it would be as true to say that the republican convention of 1884 was not a successor of that of 1880, as to speak of the Pittsburgh convention as some new and unexpected "movement." That it was new to the ignorant is plain, but it was as proper and reasonable, and as much to be expected that the Prohibition party which had made three successive nominations should make another in 1884, as that either the republican or democratic party should do the same. The difference between the convention at Cleveland in 1880 and that in Pittsburgh in 1884 was simply that indicated by the difference between 139 delegates from eleven states and 607 delegates from thirty-one states.

This extraordinary growth has its history. We can only faintly outline it in this place. The fundamental fact was that the American conscience was slowly awakening. The truths proclaimed in temperance societies, and by lecturers and preachers were beginning to penetrate the masses. More and more, as the actual work went on, it was seen that all that could be done for the cure of alcoholism would be like an arch without a keystone without the triumph of Prohibition. To those who are content to allow the present order of things to go on indefinitely, who do not know or do not care that the nation is fostering an enemy as destructive as a perpetual war, Prohibition was an offence or an impracticable dream. But there are multitudes who are not thus indifferent. They insist on some practicable and adequate remedy. They find this in Prohibition. To outlaw and suppress the traffic in intoxicating drinks is to stop the fountain of alcoholism. Of this the virtuous common people are so convinced, that no sophistries of self-indulgent epicures or mammon-worshippers can turn them from their purpose.

This conviction lays a foundation for party action. No one capable of reason expects prohibitory laws or their enforcement

except by political action of some kind. Some are dreaming of a non-partisan party, others are confident that soon one of the "great" parties will take on Prohibition. But the mists are clearing away. Many begin to see that the republican and democratic parties have been simply outbidding each other for the vote which is in the market. The "saloon vote" was for sale. Whichever party would take the best care of the saloon, grant it the largest privileges on the whole, and was the most likely to be in power, could secure that vote. The temperance people had no vote in the market in any sense. It is impossible to organize the voters who favor the temperance reform into any party whose vote can be thown this way or that as a committee may direct. It results from this, that the one care of the two great parties has been to get or to keep this "saloon vote," sometimes called, but with great injustice to the German people, the "German vote." There is nowhere visible any tendency to a change of this policy, or was not before the election of 1884. No reasonable hope existed that either the democratic or republican party would honestly enact and enforce prohibition. Both would make professions, and even attempts, in places where it was popular to do so, but any vigorous, consistent policy looking to Prohibition is out of the question.

These facts were patent to all who chose to open their eyes. And many did open their eyes. The Women's Christian Temperance Union helped. Many other influences were active, working together to open blind eyes. As a result many saw that the only way leading to Prohibition in most of the states, and in the nation was by a party having this for its object. Wherever the question was earnestly discussed this was the outcome, and the discussion was very wide-spread.

Two things arose out of this which produced unexpected results. The "Lake Bluff Convocations" in 1880, '81 and '82, were efforts to combine all temperance workers in the Northwest as far as practicable for consultation and mutual help. The discussions drifted towards party action by the necessities which attach to earnestness. What was called the Home Protection movement took shape in good words for party action.

About the same time Robt. W. Nelson established the *National Liberator* in Chicago. The west was alive with Prohibition. Kansas and Iowa were aflame. The people had driven politicians into doing something, and though exceedingly anxious to have it understood it was not the republican party which was doing it, still as this was the party in power in those states it was popularly credited with the measure. The people cared little whether it was one party or the other; all they wanted was a chance to vote, and when the occasion arrived a majority in both the states of Kansas and Iowa voted for Prohibition. Under these circumstances, with all the states agitated by the question, Mr. Nelson

was an earnest and capable advocate of the Prohibition party. He not only dealt vigorous blows at the traffic in liquors, but urged as the only practical solution of the question, a national Prohibition party.

The Prohibition party was fortunate in having at its head a man who proved equal to the opportunity in Hon. Gideon T. Stewart, chairman of the national committee. He heartily seconded the efforts of Mr. Nelson and others to call a convention in Chicago with a view to consolidating all Prohibitionists in one party. In the spring of 1882 the following documents appeared:

PROHIBITION REFORM NATIONAL CONVENTION.

A national convention of delegates of the Prohibition Reform party will be held in the city of Chicago, in the state of Illinois, on Wednesday, the 23rd day of August, 1882, commencing at the hour of 10 o'clock a. m., for the purpose of considering such means and adopting such measures for the promotion of the great principles and purpose of the party as the convention when assembled may determine.

All citizens of the United States, without regard to former party affiliations, or political differences on other questions, who believe in the main doctrine of the Prohibition Reform party that the manufacture, importation, sale or supply of alcoholic liquor in any form for use as a beverage, is a high crime against society, should be prohibited as such in our national and state constitutions and laws, are willing to act with this party in achieving that reform, are invited to assemble in their respective states and territories and in the District of Columbia, to appoint delegates there residing to this National Convention equal to the number of senators and representatives to which each state is entitled in the congress of the United States, and two delegates from each territory and the District of Columbia, with an equal number of alternate delegates from each.

In thus extending this invitation to all citizens, we most earnestly appeal to them to consider—

That the liquor traffic, against which this party has been organized, is the mother and monster crime of our nation, producing more than four-fifths of all other crimes, and far more of public and private evils than all the others combined.

That it poisons the heart of industry and palsies the arms of commerce.

That it robs and enslaves labor, corrupts and bankrupts capital.

That every year in this vaunted free republic, it takes a thousand million dollars of their hard earnings from the hand of the toiling masses, and then expends that vast sum in the work of their most terrible destruction.

That every year it murders a hundred thousand of our people, and covers the land with desolate homes and a million wrecks of ruined humanity.

That it is the foul creator and abounding source of pauperism, vice, ignorance, insanity, idiocy, pestilence, disease, physical and mental decrepitude and death, of all forms and phases of moral and social debasement and domestic misery; of grinding taxation and profligate administrations of the government; of bribery, waste, peculations and abuses without number in public office, mocking at all plans and efforts of civil service reform; and of the debauched



HON. JOHN P. ST. JOHN.



HON. WILLIAM DANIEL.

prostitution of the ballot, and of frauds, venality, intimidation and violence at the polls, often making a vile farce of our boasted freedom of elections.

That it fills with perjury and injustice the courts of law, and pollutes the sacred days and sanctuaries of religion.

That it conspires in all criminal designs and public disorders, mobs and riots, aiding and exciting them in every breach of the peace, and urging to the entire subversion of law and order.

That the grog-shops and saloons are the low nurseries of agrarian and communistic plots and combinations against the rights of industry and for the plunder of property.

That in them are formed and fomented vile and bitter prejudices, passions and conflicts of race against race, class against class, and section against section of our common country, leading to public outbreaks, cruel outrages and civil war.

That in countless forms and ways it is the fatal foe of our free institutions, and of the virtue, peace, prosperity and happiness of the people.

That like every other crime, it can never be reformed or regulated by law; and can only be subdued by total prohibition.

That it cannot be licensed, taxed or treated as a legitimate business without involving the government and people in all its guilt and enormities.

That as an organized potent crime, controlling the government and corrupting all the fountains of political power, it can never be suppressed but by the agency of a political party formed for that purpose, and supremely devoted to its work.

In the present rapid disintegration of the old parties and the absence of all vital issues between them, the people are free to come together and to combine their suffrages for the accomplishment of this most important reform.

The state committees of the Prohibition Reform party, where it is organized, are requested to call conventions for the purpose of appointing delegates, but where this is omitted by them, or where no active organization of the party exists, any citizens holding this its main doctrine, and willing to co-operate with it may be authorized to call such convention, on application to the undersigned.

The gravity of the questions and movements involved in the present great uprising of the people against the liquor crime throughout our nation and the pressing demand for higher aims, and for more united councils and plan of action among the friends of the reform, should influence them to send their ablest counselors and foremost workers as delegates to this National Convention. We recognize the entire unity with us of the principles and purposes of the Home Protection and other movements having in view the same methods and objects, and recommend that without respect to any distinction in names or forms of organization, all meet in the same state and territorial conventions and unite in appointing delegates to this National Convention. Credentials will be required of the delegates and alternates, signed by the president and secretary of each convention appointing them.

This call is now issued that it may precede the spring conventions of the party, and that ample opportunity may be given to convene and organize the people in all the states and territories, so as to secure the attendance of full delegations from every portion of the Union, that this may be the grandest representative convention of the cause ever known in its history.

Prominent Prohibitionists of Great Britain, Canada and other

countries are expected, and will be welcomed as visitors at the convention.

By order of the National Prohibition Committee.

G. T. STEWART, Chn., Norwalk, Ohio.

CHAS. A. HOVEY, Sec., Boston, Mass.

March 13, 1882.

HOME PROTECTIONISTS.

THE CHICAGO NATIONAL CONVENTION, AUGUST 23, 1882—TEXT
OF THE OFFICIAL CALL.

To all who favor the Home Protection movement against the liquor traffic:

At the Lake Bluff Convocation, held August 20 to 29, 1881, the following principles were agreed upon and declared:

A union of the best elements of the North and South upon the principles of the temperance reform is a happy omen of the destruction of that sectionalism which is so dangerous to the welfare of our country, and which is the cause of bitterness, wrangling and corruption.

A political party, whose platform is based on constitutional and statutory prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages in the state and nation, is a necessity, and in order to give those who suffer most from the drink curse a power to protect themselves, their homes and their loved ones, the complete enfranchisement of woman should be worked for and welcomed.

The temperance people of the several states should call conventions for the purpose of organizing in every state a Home Protection party upon the basis of the foregoing article in this plan.

We hereby authorize the officers of this convocation to carry out the provisions of the foregoing article by correspondence with Prohibition leaders, and the calling of national, state and legislative Home Protection conventions.

A committee on organization was subsequently appointed, a form of constitution for Home Protection clubs prepared, and the co-operation of all Prohibition leaders sought.

On the 13th of March, 1882, a call for a national convention on the 23d of August, 1882, to be held in Chicago, was issued by Gideon T. Stewart, chairman of the Prohibition Reform party of the United States, and making the following basis of representation, viz:

"Delegates equal to the number of senators and representatives to which each state is entitled in the congress of the United States, and two delegates from each territory and the District of Columbia, with an equal number of alternate delegates from each."

In harmony with his action, and with the view of awakening temperance men in every part of the country to the importance of organization for political action, all those persons who desire to be counted in the constituency of the Home Protection party on the basis of the Lake Bluff platform, are hereby earnestly requested to hold conventions in congressional districts and states, and to elect delegates to the same convention in Chicago, August 23 and 24, that we may all confer together and invoke the spirit of God, which is "first pure, then peaceable," to help unify our aims, sentiments and methods, so that the temperance forces of this country may present an unbroken front to their undivided enemy. Any temperance man or woman who reads this call is authorized to go forward in organizing Home Protection clubs, or calling mass conventions based on the action of the Lake Bluff convocation. From these let delegates be chosen according to the basis of representation laid down by Mr. Stewart, to which delegates' certificates should be issued, signed by the chairman and secretary of the state or congressional district convention appointing them.

We call the attention of our friends in the Southern states

who may be embarrassed by the prominence given in the temperance reform to the enfranchisement of women, to the fact that the central and dominant demand of the Lake Bluff platform is a party pledged to such a reform in law and in its execution as will rank the traffic in intoxicating drinks among the crimes, and suppress it accordingly. The more effectually to accomplish this result, "the complete enfranchisement of women is to be worked for and welcomed." But where the demand for such enfranchisement would be a hindrance instead of a help to the main purpose, it should be no impediment to representation in the convention that the doctrine of woman suffrage is not accepted. In the Home Protection party the enfranchisement of woman is a means to an end, not the end itself. Each state must judge for itself, as to the practicability of this method in its own special work.

In the Northern states the temperance cause has been a steady growth, especially rapid since the great crusade in 1873-74. We have had "first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." We have been slow to learn that the generalizations of reform must at last appear on the statute-book, and slower yet to learn the process by which this end can be achieved. But experience has convinced us that under our form of government this can be done only by that part of the population who think alike on the temperance question forming themselves into a party.

Among this temperance population we find women in the majority, hence we would have them fully equipped for membership in this new party of great moral ideas. Therefore, in those States where public opinion is nearly ripe for the enfranchisement of woman, it is clearly wisdom to set about the practical duty of arming these most reliable home guards, as a preparation for the final conflict.

The one great object is the reform of law as it is related to the traffic in intoxicating drinks. We have but one Rome, though many roads lead to it, and its name is Prohibition. We have but one motto, adapted from that classic battle-cry which nerved the Roman legions. *Delenda est Carthago* —Down with the liquor traffic!

GEORGE W. BAIN, Louisville, Ky.

A. J. JUTKINS, LEXINGTON, Ky.

FRANCES E. WILLARD, Evanston, Ill.

R. W. NELSON, Chicago, Ill.

Committee of Organization of the Home Protection Party.

In accordance with these calls 341 delegates from 23 states met in Farwell Hall, Chicago, August 23d, 1882. The result of the two days' session was a substantial reorganization of the "Prohibition Reform" party. The name was changed to "Prohibition Home-Protection" party. The National Committee was reformed, and members appointed from most of the states, increasing the committee from twenty-two to forty-seven. This committee met at the close of the convention and organized, appointing Gideon T. Stewart, chairman; R. W. Nelson, recording secretary; A. J. Jutkins, corresponding secretary, and S. D. Hastings, treasurer. These officers, with Miss Frances E. Willard, were constituted an executive committee. They were chosen in part with a view to their residence in or near Chicago, and with the expectation that a headquarters would be established in that city by the Corresponding Secretary, and efforts be made to organize and extend the party in every part of the country.

This plan was steadily carried out from October 1882. By personal correspondence, by efforts to reinforce the prohibition press, by cultivating a mutual acquaintance and good understanding among the leading lecturers, and by efforts to build up an enduring fund for the support of "headquarters," and for the general benefit of the party the Corresponding Secretary has sought to fulfill the expectations of the friends of reform. No striking or brilliant successes have demonstrated the wisdom of the plans of the convention of 1882, but from it dates the unity of Prohibition party effort, and it is probably only scant justice to say that no such convention as that of July 23d, 1884, would have been possible, but for this of 1882. It brought into the Prohibition Party movement an immense accession, and that without any sacrifice or schism. The year 1883 was one of earnest activity in most, if not in all the states.

We have thus rapidly sketched the progress of events up to
1884—OUR PIONEER BATTLE YEAR.

For several reasons, it was thought advisable to obtain the judgment of the National Committee concerning the time and place of the national convention by correspondence, and accordingly the Chairman began that correspondence early in December 1883. Very great tardiness was exhibited in replying, but on the 23d of January, 1884, the Chairman felt justified in issuing the following call:

NATIONAL CONVENTION AGAINST THE LIQUOR-CRIME.

All citizens of the United States, without distinction of section, sex, race, color, place of birth, or former party relation, who are in favor of the prohibition by the national government, in its constitution and by laws, and its treaties with other governments, of the manufacture, sale, or supply, importation, or exportation of alcoholic beverages in any form, distilled or fermented, as a high crime against the nation and the civilized world, and who will support the election of an administration to enforce this prohibition, are invited to send delegates to the National Convention of the Prohibition Home-Protection Party, to be held in the City of Pittsburgh, in the State of Pennsylvania, on Wednesday, the twenty-first day of May, 1884, at the hour of eleven o'clock a. m., to nominate candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States; to adopt a platform of such principles and measures of national government as are living issues before the people, and to transact such other business as the Convention may deem proper.

The basis of representation in the Convention will be one delegate for every 250, and fraction over 100, of the number of votes cast for the leading candidate on the State ticket of the Prohibition Home-Protection Party, at the last regular State election, held in the years 1882, and 1883, in each of the following named thirteen states, in which such tickets were voted: California, Connecticut, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

In all the other States, and in the Territories and District of Columbia, the basis of representation will be one delegate for every 250 and fraction over 100, of the qualified voters at general elections there, who sign the following:

NATIONAL CALL.

We, the undersigned citizens of ———, in the county of ———, and State (or Territory) of ———, hereby unite in calling a convention of the signers of this and similar calls circulated in this county, to be held at ———, on the ——— day of ———, 1884, at the hour of ———, for the purpose of organizing the Prohibition Home-Protection party in this county and appointing delegates to a State (or Territorial) convention, to form the party in this State (or Territory), and to appoint delegates to the National Convention of that party, to be held in the City of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on the 21st day of May 1884. We hereby mutually pledge ourselves to each other, that we will entirely separate ourselves from the Republican and Democratic parties, and from all political parties not opposed to the liquor-crime, and that we will do all in our power to promote the success of the principles and candidates of the Prohibition Home-Protection party.

(Place and date.)

NAMES OF VOTERS. | NAMES OF NON-VOTERS. | POST-OFFICE ADDRESS.

Each County Convention so called, will appoint a committee of one or more of such signers to the National Call, who will unite with like Committees from other counties in calling a State (or Territorial) Convention, in time to send delegates to this National Convention. All delegates to this Convention will be appointed by their several State and Territorial Conventions, and will bring certificates of their appointment signed by the Chairman and Secretary of each; and except from the thirteen states above named, each certificate must also contain the number of qualified electors who have signed the National Call in such State or Territory.

Every delegation to this Convention will have power to fill vacancies in its own number, occurring after its appointment. All friends of the cause not accredited as delegates, are cordially invited to attend the sessions of the Convention, without taking part in its proceedings, unless especially authorized to do so by the Convention.

GIDEON T. STEWART, Chairman.

R. W. NELSON, Secretary.

A. J. JUTKINS, Corresponding Secretary.

Of the National Committee of the Prohibition Home-Protection Party. Headquarters, 87 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

January 23, 1884.

The publication of the Call had the effect to arouse the committee and other Prohibitionists to a study of the situation. This soon developed the opinion that it was a mistake to have a convention so early in the year, and before the conventions of the old parties. Considerable discussion ensued, the outcome of which was that the time of the convention was changed from May 21st to July 23d. No other change was made.

Meanwhile the agitation went on. Lecturers were traversing the country. Some Prohibition Clubs were formed.

But many were waiting to see what attitude would be taken by the approaching republican convention, and by the delegates from the prohibition states, Iowa and Kansas. Some were sure the delegations from these states would insist upon some recognition of Prohibition by the convention, or at least that a good word would be spoken in favor of giving the people a chance to vote on it. They could not believe that such great prohibition states, where the question on which side the majority was has been so recently and decisively settled, could be silent upon so great an issue.

Let no one make the mistake of supposing that the *leaders* of the Prohibition party had any such expectations. They were entirely willing to grant every opportunity to republicans in which to express themselves, but nothing would have surprised them more than any, even the feeblest whisper, of approval of Prohibition. They knew too well the grip by which the Alcoholists held the republican party to be deceived by any such anticipations. It was not to convince themselves, but to show the country the facts, that they were willing to wait till after all the other parties had spoken before they held their convention.

The republican convention met in Chicago June 3d, 1884. It was a body of politicians. One vital issue was present,—possession of the offices. From first to last, before the convention, during its progress, and after its conclusion, the one thing which occupied attention, shaped every resolution, controlled every vote, dominated every policy, was possession of the offices.

That the republican party was to continue in possession of the government was a matter of course. No one stopped for a moment to question this. The only question was whether Mr. Blaine or Mr. Arthur or some third man would be nominated for president. The Blaine faction of the convention were from the first aggressive and defiant. By such means as party leaders know how to use they proceeded to carry their point.

"From the very first they were almost insolently confident, and there was no break in the perfect assurance with which they maintained their confidence from first to last. Their ranks were never broken, their columns never thrown into disorder. They maintained a solid front, and were ready at any time to wager any sum of money that Blaine would be the nominee. Even after the temporary black-eye the election of Clayton was supposed to have given Blaine, Hon. Charles C. Grosvenor asserted confidently that he would be nominated on the third ballot." (4.)

To this convention the Prohibition party, of course, made no overtures. But republicans, lovers of the party and at the same time prohibitionists, were present to ask of their representatives in the convention to favor the submission of constitutional amendments in the several states. A strong memorial from Pennsylvania set forth their desire to have the question settled in a non-partisan way. The "Maryland Amendment Association" asked the same thing, backed by the frank statement that "the temperance men of Maryland could not see their way clear to support longer any political party which did not recognize the right of the people to settle this question for themselves." (5.) This was regarded by some as an insolent threat, which justified the non-action of the convention!

The National Temperance Society, and the Independent Order of Good Templars also presented memorials asking for submission. Senator Blair was present to urge that it was dangerous to trifle with the aroused people. Perhaps the most notable sensation,

however, was produced by the presence of Miss Frances E. Willard, with her memorial from the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Mr. W. G. Donnan of Iowa, presented the memorial. Its reading was opposed by Mr. McClure of California and Mr. Horr of Michigan, but was favored by Mr. Lampson of Ohio and Mr. Gilbert of New York. The chairman (temporary), Mr. Lynch of Mississippi, decided that under the rules the reading was not excluded, and the memorial was read. Following is the text:

"To the National Convention of the Republican Party:

"We, members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the United States, herein represented by the signatures of our officers, believe that while the poison habits of the nation can be largely restrained by an appeal to the intellect through argument, to the heart through sympathy, and to the conscience through the motives of religion, the traffic in those poisons will be best controlled by prohibitory law. We believe the teachings of science, experience, and the Golden Rule combine to testify against the traffic in alcoholic liquors as a drink, and that the homes of America, which are the citadels of patriotism, purity and happiness, have no enemy so relentless as the American saloon.

"Therefore, as citizens of the United States, irrespective of sex, sect or section, but having deeply at heart the protection of our homes, we do hereby respectfully urge and earnestly petition you to advocate and to adopt such measures as are requisite, to the end that prohibition of the importation and exportation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, may become an integral part of the national constitution, and that your party candidate shall be by character and public pledge committed to a national prohibitory constitutional amendment.

It was sent at once to the committee on resolutions. Thither repaired Miss Willard, accompanied by Senator Blair of New Hampshire, Mary B. Willard, editor of the *Union Signal*, and Helen L. Hood, corresponding secretary of the Illinois W. C. T. U. They were received with courtesy, and Miss Willard was allowed fifteen minutes to present and plead for her resolution. A motion was made and seconded that the prayer of the memorial be granted. It was voted down. One man said "no" while yet his cheeks were wet with tears drawn by the eloquent appeal; and others, if less demonstrative, sympathized with him. If the reader asks the reason for this strange contradiction let him read attentively the opening address of Mr. Stewart in this volume.

These men were slaves to party. Sadly, like a Druid mother giving her child to the sacrifice, they ignored their temperance principles rather than risk the "loss of Ohio."

And so in spite of the fact that Iowa and Kansas had demonstrated that it was politically safe to do right, in spite of the great Prohibition vote in Ohio, in spite of the solemn warnings given, the great republican convention laid on the "last feather which broke the camel's back." It was dumb before the saloon interest. When it was flashed over the wires that no word of approval was spoken for the right of the people to speak on the question of a prohibitory amendment, Governor St. John telegraphed to *The Lever* at Chicago this sentence:

"The action of the republican convention is an insult to every Prohibitionist in the land, and God helping me, I mean to resent it with voice and vote."

How many hundreds of thousands sympathized with this view at that moment, no mortal can know;—one hundred and fifty thousand stood firmly through the campaign and voted the sentiment on the 4th of November.

The convention completed its work by the nomination of James G. Blaine of Maine for president, and John A. Logan of Illinois for vice president. It is a remarkable fact that these particular statesmen had both put themselves on record in reference to the business of whisky making, which has grown to be a source of immense revenue to the general government. Mr. Logan advocated before the people the use of this revenue as an endowment for the common school system, and Mr. Blaine in a letter dated Augusta, Me., November 22, 1883, and published in the *Philadelphia Press* proposed to divide the revenue from the tax on spirits among the various states. This he urged with all his ability and ingenuity, and fitting in as the proposition does with the "high-license" theories of the present time, it is calculated to find favor with multitudes who would not accept a direct bribe, but who are willing to profit by such "a great beneficence."

The following will show the argument:

EXTRACT FROM MR. BLAINE'S LETTER OF NOV. 22, 1883.

"Instead, therefore, of repealing the tax on spirits the national government can assign it to the states in proportion to their population. The machinery of collection is to-day in complete operation. A bill of ten lines could direct the secretary of the treasury to pay the whole of it, less the small expense of collection to the states and territories in the proportion of their population, and to continue it permanently as part of their regular annual revenues. The amount yielded by the tax on spirituous and malt liquors last year was over \$86,000,000. On the basis of the census of 1880 it would pay about \$1.75 per capita to all the people. The tendency would be to increase rather than diminish this ratio as time wore on. Illicit distilleries would disappear when every state and every town should come to realize that it was being defrauded of its own revenue by permitting or winking at the violations of law. On the basis of \$1.75 per head the relief to the states would be very great. I append a table showing what each state would receive on the basis of the present revenue. In considering the question, as I have very carefully for several months past, I have possibly overlooked objections which others may suggest.

A FUTURE FINANCIAL UTOPIA.

But the more I have reflected upon it the more evident it has become to my mind that it is wiser to tax whisky than to tax farms, and homesteads, and shops, and that it would be an act of incalculable folly to omit the \$86,000,000 instead of giving it to the states for the relief of oppressive local taxation. I trust I have made the difference between this proposition and the Pennsylvania proposition sufficiently plain. The one which I have suggested gives the revenue from a specific tax wholly to the states, and does not depend upon a chance surplus or an accidental remainder in the national treasury. It makes the taxes on spirituous and malt

liquors a permanent resource to all the states, enabling them thereby definitely to readjust and reduce their own taxation. Each state could wisely use its share according to its necessities. In Maine, for example, our share would enable us to repeal absolutely the state tax proper, leaving only the county and town taxes upon the people. In your state of Pennsylvania, where licenses support the state government, the cities and towns could receive pro rata the \$7,500,000 which would fall to your share. Your city of Philadelphia would receive nearly \$1,500,000 per annum. States that have been so oppressed by debt as to be tempted or driven to repudiation would be enabled to regain their credit, and every community from ocean to ocean would in one form or another, realize that burdens of taxation were in some degree ameliorated. I believe the measure would prove a "great beneficence" to the people in all parts of the republic. Very respectfully,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Note—The revenue of the last fiscal year from spirituous and malt liquors was a little more than \$86,000,000. This amount, divided among the several states and territories according to the plan outlined in the preceding letter, would give the following sums to each—the statements being made in round thousands:

Alabama.....	\$2,308,000	New Jersey.....	\$1,980,000
Arkansas.....	1,405,000	New York.....	8,892,000
California.....	1,557,000	North Carolina.....	2,450,000
Colorado.....	340,000	Ohio.....	5,596,000
Connecticut.....	1,880,000	Oregon.....	2,155,000
Delaware.....	255,000	Pennsylvania.....	7,493,000
Florida.....	470,000	Rhode Island.....	483,000
Georgia.....	1,598,000	South Carolina.....	1,742,000
Illinois.....	5,285,000	Tennessee.....	2,698,000
Indiana.....	3,461,000	Texas.....	2,785,000
Iowa.....	2,842,000	Vermont.....	581,000
Kansas.....	1,743,000	Virginia.....	2,646,000
Kentucky.....	2,884,000	West Virginia.....	1,081,000
Louisiana.....	1,644,000	Wisconsin.....	2,801,000
Maine.....	1,134,000	Arizona.....	70,000
Maryland.....	1,634,000	Dakota.....	296,000
Massachusetts.....	3,120,000	Idaho.....	57,000
Michigan.....	2,863,000	Montana.....	69,000
Minnesota.....	1,365,000	New Mexico.....	208,000
Mississippi.....	1,980,000	Utah.....	251,000
Missouri.....	3,791,000	Washington.....	121,000
Nebraska.....	791,000	Wyoming.....	36,000
Nevada.....	100,000	District Columbia.....	310,000
New Hampshire.....	605,000		

With these candidates, on a platform which was remarkable only for its bald bidding for votes and its silence upon living issues, the republican party entered the field for the great political battle of 1884.

The temperance voters who had been looking to the convention with hope and anticipation, turned from it in sorrow and disappointment. Senator Blair was heard to remark that the action of the committee on resolutions in ignoring the temperance question would cost the party from 150,000 to 200,000 votes. In the light of later events his words seem almost prophetic. Had the committee grappled boldly with the issue, it is safe to say that the greater portion of those who voted the Prohibition ticket, democrats and republicans alike, would have ratified its work at the polls. As it was, there was but one feeling among those who had

clung to the party as a forlorn hope, but one voice came from the lips that had urged delay until it should have an opportunity to express itself; and that was—to quote from a prominent journal of the time—that “the republican party was dead, stabbed to death by the committee on resolutions.”

THE DEMOCRATS.

On the 8th of July the democratic national convention met in Chicago. It was in all respects a repetition of the republican so far as appeared to the public eye. There was the same opening of the sessions with prayer, the same manipulation of delegations, the same tactics to create enthusiasm.

Before this body Miss Willard presented her memorial. She was treated with great courtesy, but the convention proceeded to make its ancient deliverance against “sumptuary laws which vex the citizen,” precisely as it was expected to do. From this body, representing the essence of Bourbonism, only this was to be expected.

THE PITTSBURGH CONVENTION.

PRELIMINARY.

On the 23d of July the national convention of the Prohibition Home Protection party assembled in Pittsburgh. On the evening of the 22d Rev. John Russell of Michigan, who by common consent was the first to advocate separate party action, spoke in LaFayette Hall, where the convention was to assemble the next day. His address so fully sets forth the doctrines of the party that we give it entire:

JOHN RUSSELL'S ADDRESS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—In the world's protracted battle with wrong, when the voice of Providence clearly sounds a forward movement, it becomes all good people to promptly shoulder arms. For then weapons which are not carnal become mighty agencies for demolishing the strongholds of public wickedness.

There is an evil in our land, which is so enormous as to overshadow all others, and the time has come for voting it out. This, therefore, is a battle of ballots, and ultimate victory will, of course, be awarded to those who command the strongest battalions.

The foe we contend with has been repeatedly and strongly indicted before the civilized world, and our *causus belli* is ample and unquestionable. Moreover, we are not the attacking party, but are strictly on the defensive. All our sacred precincts have long ago been insidiously invaded. Sapping and mining have been stealthily going forward for many years beneath the very foundations of our social superstructure; so that the family, the church and the state are in danger of being overthrown or subverted from their allegiance to God and the best interests of humanity. It might well go without saying, in this presence, that *Alcoholism* is the terrible foe to which allusion is made. An unnatural, insatiable, morbid appetite on the part of the consumer—curable only by abstinence—conspires with an unscrupulous cupidity organized into an immense trade, envroned by vicious public law, and sustained through intrigue and corrupt political influence, constitute the cohorts and legions of evil forces against which “The Prohibition Home-Protection Party” is organized and commissioned to contend.

Arrayed on either side, in the line of this great national contest, are powers which seem well nigh irresistible. The liquor trade claims to be ancient, demands its vested rights, and most vehemently pleads for personal liberty. An oligarchy almost omnipotent in politics, numerous, well organized, personally interested, and with untold millions of wealth at their disposal are in command of the forces marshalled against us.

On our side are found the following powerful allies: Intelligence, that clear perception and sound judgment touching the nature and true relations of things, by which good men are wisely directed in the performance of duty. Conscience, or that testifying function of reason which affirms of the moral quality of actions, and constantly prompts to the performance of that which is right, and brands as moral cowards all who through base servility to wrong violate her high behests; the immutable and irrevocable truths of morals, science, and of social and political philosophy which stand related to the issue; also the sympathy, and, hence, the ultimate co-operation of all the truly good, philanthropic and patriotic citizens of the country. Finally, we reverently and humbly hope for the favor of that merciful and almighty Being who has no attribute which can take part with the infamous liquor trade.

Between these opposing forces the issue is already joined, and the contest will not cease until the dram shop is outlawed and gone. The conflict is absolutely irrepressible! Essential truth can never compromise with error and falsehood. Truth pronounces the liquor traffic to be an unmitigated curse to the people, deserving an ignominious death at the hands of public authority. Our opponents affirm it to be a good institution, only liable to accidental abuses against which it should be guarded by discriminating legislation. On the contrary, we declare the evil to be INHERENT and INTRINSIC, like the poison in the serpent's tooth, or a deadly upas, not to be pruned, but extirpated and destroyed, root and branch. The manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks is a horrible blasphemy against the laws of nature, and an outrageous moral piracy on the high seas of true and legitimate commerce. Alcoholism, as we employ the term collectively, is the most destructive thunder-bolt ever hurled by infernal Jove—"the prince of the power of the air"—against the wretched inhabitants of this revolted province in the empire of God. How to chain this lightning, and rob this demon of his power to harm, is the social and political problem for Prohibitionists to solve. Our theory, in brief, is persuasion and the law of kindness for the drinker. For the drink-makers and venders, we insist upon statutes, courts, officers, fines and prisons, all to be created and used in an orderly way, and sustained by a duly enlightened public sentiment. Back of all this, to fortify it, we seek to place a properly organized political party in every state, territory, county and smaller voting precinct throughout the whole country; a party distinctly committed to the utter overthrow of the liquor trade, as a paramount political issue.

At least two questions are germane to the issue which Prohibitionists present:

First—Why demand complete prohibition? Why not accept in lieu of it high license, or heavy taxation, together with stringent police regulations? Such measures, it is assumed, are "eminently practicable, and reasonable people in all political parties can unite upon some such policy, and thus mitigate what cannot be entirely cured." Most thoughtful people, with all intelligent Prohibitionists, are too well informed to require an extended answer to this question. However, we demand absolute prohibition, because it is the only rational method of dealing with the pernicious busi-

ness which we seek to destroy. Prohibition means death to the trade, while regulation means life left in the root at least. In fact, all other forms of legislation imply the continued and legalized existence of the evil. Mr. Blaine's policy for disposing of the liquor tax revenue, as explained by himself in his letter of November 30th, 1883, clearly implies this point. Note his language: "It makes the tax on spirituous and malt liquors a PERMANENT resource to all the states, enabling them thereby definitely to readjust and reduce their own taxation."

(Whether the thousands of honest citizens who have heretofore voted the Republican ticket will discern this deftly stated point or not may be doubted. But I at least do not doubt that it had the desired and intended effect of so far conciliating the Republican branch of the whisky ring of the nation as to greatly assist its author's nomination for the presidency.)

High license simply means a large price paid to the government for authorizing the commission of a great crime. It implies a promise of perpetual co-partnership with half a million, more or less, of the worst rogues in the nation, to fill the land with ignorance, vice, shame and sorrow. Taxation of the traffic is only the same thing by another name. It is obtaining the consent of the state, by the payment of a special tax, to pursue a business which no citizen has any moral right to conduct. It must contemplate either a public revenue from the trade, or partial practical prohibition by a curtailment of the business, or both. If the latter be the purpose, and it comes to be so understood by liquor dealers, then so far forth it becomes offensive to them and the only salutary provisions of the law are evaded. If revenue be the sole purpose of the tax, then the idea becomes at once morally revolting and intolerable. It is simply putting the price of human blood into the public treasury, and practically consenting that the blood shall continue to flow for the purpose of replenishing the national revenues. Allowing that no such horrible results are intended by those who propose and advocate these measures, they nevertheless actually accrue. This whole theory of regulative legislation is adverse to our purpose. Prohibitionists do not propose to merely remove excrescences, or to prune the tree; but to dig it up and cast it into the fire, because it belongs to an evil species.

In treating this dire disease of the body politic all regulative nostrums are only palliatives at best, prohibition alone will cure—it is a specific. We prescribe nothing else. It is our deliberate intention to continue administering it in increasingly large doses until the whole malignant mischief is purged out of the country. We hope to mingle a potion of this useful remedy, in this hall, to-morrow, which will be hard for the old liquor crime parties to swallow during the pending presidential campaign. All such regulative schemes are exactly in harmony with the liquor men's notion of their traffic, but quite at cross-purposes with our notions and intentions regarding it.

The second main question pertinent to this discussion is: "Why insist on a separate political party?"

It would be a sufficient reply were we to ask in return: "Why have political parties in the country at all? This at least would suggest a line of inquiry which logically pursued must inevitably answer the first question in our favor.

A political party is simply an association of citizens representing political ideas or principles, which they regard as of sufficient importance to advocate and vote for in concert until such principles are adopted by a majority of the people and incorporated into the legislation and administration of the government.

• Now, we do not deny that other parties have represented such ideas, and possibly some of the unsophisticated among them may imagine that such are live issues still. We will not for the present attempt to dissolve their pleasing hallucination. But we ask in deep earnestness, is not the suppression of a traffic which absolutely does no good, but immense harm, and actually costs the people of the whole country directly not less than \$900,000,000 annually, a question of sufficient magnitude and weighty import to constitute an issue in the politics of the nation? There can be no room for honest doubt in regard to it. Does any other political party espouse our cause? Certainly not in any proper sense. Why, then, should we not have a party of our own? Prohibition is antagonized by a large number of voters, who in the choice of candidates and parties persistently make upholding the liquor trade the *sine qua non* of their political support. Consequently, the great (so-called) democratic and republican organizations, each being composed of diametrically opposite elements in this regard, either oppose, or, as far as possible, ignore the question altogether. The argument, therefore, is: Parties are the true social exponents and representatives of political ideas; other parties fail to represent what we rightfully regard as a paramount issue in politics; we, therefore, must organize separately. But it is claimed that some prohibitory legislation has been secured through the old parties, and hence it is hastily inferred that much more might be accomplished through the same agency. The following we think to be a fair but succinct statement of facts; From 1851 to 1855 some fourteen different states were able to enact statutes of a prohibitory character, mostly under democratic administration. Of these all except Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire have repealed their prohibitory laws and re-enacted some form of regulation, under republican administration. More recently, however, the republican states of Kansas and Iowa have been added, where also direct republican party endorsement has been given to the measure. In Georgia, North Carolina and several other states, certain local-option measures, and prohibitory laws governing counties or other limited sections of states have been enacted within the last few years, where the democratic party is decidedly in the majority. But, on the whole, we have less in quantity, and vastly less satisfactory prohibitory legislation in the country now than we had twenty-five years ago; and that notwithstanding it is believed that the pronounced prohibition sentiment is much stronger now than it was then.

The movement, therefore, in the hands of those parties, or more properly in the hands of the friends of the principle but without a party, is uneven, inconclusive, and thoroughly unsatisfactory. Moreover, there has been no period during the more than thirty years, since the question of prohibition began to be agitated, that leading partisan politicians were so wary of it as now. This is simply because the political parties which they represent are organically, from the opposite elements of which they are composed, disqualified to meet the issue which per force of public sentiment is being thrust upon them. Besides, the silent yet studied indignity offered to the Christian temperance women of this nation, and through them to the whole temperance community, by the two great party conventions lately held in Chicago, justly merits the emphatic condemnation of every noble and true man in the country. Following the lofty example of our worthy and truly patriotic friend, Ex-Gov. John P. St. John of Kansas, all should join to resent the insult "*by voice and vote!*" The only proper reproof is to reject both their verbose platforms and undeserving candidates

at the ballot box in November next. Both democrats and republicans have in national conventions, within the last few years, given direct pledges and encouragement to the liquor traffic. The infamous 16th resolution of the republican platform of 1872, and never yet repudiated by the party, and the endless changes which the democrats are ringing in their national and state platforms on the meaningless phrase "sumptuary legislation" are cited as indubitable evidence in support of this statement.

Some years since the New York Tribune inquired: "Why do not the Prohibitionists adopt the same course which the liquor men do? They work within the lines of existing parties and do not attempt to organize a new one."

Our reply was then and is now the same: There are at least two valid reasons why the advocates of the liquor traffic should not attempt to organize separately: There are already two large parties which to a large extent are now in the hands of leaders who are capable of serving the whisky cause as a condition of political success. To organize separately, if it were possible to do so, would be laborious, expensive and superfluous on their part. But, further, the successful formation of an independent political party, in these enlightened times, demands a justification before the public on the grounds of moral, social and political philosophy. Such a vindication of their course on the part of the abettors of the liquor trade would be utterly impossible, while Prohibitionists can unanswerably defend their new party movement with the utmost ease.

Furthermore, Prohibitionists need a party of their own because "CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION," though it were secured in every state in the Union, would not prove a final adjustment of the controversy, nor would it remove the question from the arena of party politics.

I am not unmindful of the fact that some of our good friends have thought and taught differently on this point. Perhaps nothing short of actual experience will fully convince some of them of their error. Nevertheless, a few points should be considered touching this phase of the question:

There probably is now no constitutional impediment in the way of enacting a prohibitory statute in any state in the Union. Moreover, there are but few states, if any, where if the question were submitted fairly, and so as not to complicate it with old party politics, and a "fair count" of the ballots could be obtained, a majority of the people would not vote for Prohibition. Why, then, are not such statutes enacted, and why do so many good people petition legislative bodies in vain for the submission of constitutional amendments to a popular vote? The plain answer is, because the party in power could and would be held responsible by the liquor men for granting such favors to the cause of temperance.

Furthermore, it should be observed that the enforcement of law against the liquor business is even more taxing to the machinery of a party than the enactment of it. Our points then are: Democrats and republicans are growing less and less willing to submit prohibitory constitutional amendments; such constitutional provisions if adopted are powerless for good unless followed by suitable statutes for giving them effectiveness; and, finally, because the agency of a thoroughly united party is even more needful for the election of efficient executive and judicial officers than the legislative department.

In this convention allow me to remark that, in no other way shall we ever completely answer the frivolous yet popular objection of our opponents that "prohibition does not prohibit." It

would indeed be marvelous if it should, and it is scarcely less marvelous that its friends have been stupid enough to expect it to, under the political conditions surrounding such legislation in the past. The comparatively excellent record which it has made, in this regard, in initiative stages of its history is owing to the soundness of the legal principle and the profound moral conviction upon which it rests. Reasoning *a priori*, why should we expect it to prove effective? A radical law in the hands of a conservative party! A statute to be executed which is acceptable to one half of the party in power, and bitterly opposed by the other half!

There is much reason to fear that some have striven too hard to make it appear that prohibitory laws are well enforced. No doubt such statutes have done much good, and have been vastly more effectual in diminishing the sale and consumption of liquors than any form of mere regulation can possibly prove. But why higggle over this point with our opponents? The true answer for us to make is plain: If prohibition does not prohibit, then the people, and particularly the party in power, are to blame for it. It is our business to make it prohibit; and the Prohibition party is the only truly philosophic remedy for the evil. Government by the people involves government through party, the party in power represents the majority.

Such laws do not enforce themselves. Neither are they enforced through mere public sentiment, however valuable that may be in its place. The truth in the case is, that owing to the malformation of parties on this subject, the laws heretofore enacted, embodying the prohibitory principle, have been mostly framed to meet political exigencies, and have hence been exceedingly deficient in provisions for their own enforcement. Executive officers, for the same reason, have found themselves so insecure in their official positions as to render a vast majority of them inefficient and unreliable in the performance of duty. Such officials are usually dependent upon the united vote of their party for election and reelection. Liquor dealers and their sympathizers will not adhere to a party which will continue to promote prohibitionists to office. This view of the case alone is quite sufficient to account for the alleged non-enforcement of prohibitory laws when they exist. But why should democrats and republicans glory in their own shame by continuing to publish in a boastful and gloating manner the fact of their own malfeasance in this regard? Are they acting in blissful ignorance of the fact that, by so doing, they are laying the foundation for the most powerful appeal to the people to vote the Prohibition ticket?

Once, during the last year of our prohibitory law in Michigan, an enthusiastic republican, an earnest temperance man, and a worthy deacon of one of the churches in town, on hearing the charge made in a public lecture that officers elected by the old parties were unreliable on that account, arose and asked the privilege of contradicting it by the statement of a fact.

"These citizens," said the deacon (pointing confidently to his fellow townsmen around him in the audience), "know that when I was supervisor of this township the prohibitory law was faithfully enforced, and there was no open sale of liquor during my term of office; and I was elected by the republican party!"

Then the good deacon resumed his seat amid no little applause, as all the republicans present seemed to think he had made a good point in favor of the "dear old party."

When the effervescence of their joy had subsided a little, the following questions were submitted to the deacon:

Speaker—"Deacon, are you still supervisor of this township?"

Deacon—"No, I am not."

Speaker—"Does the same party still elect which elected you?"

Deacon—"Yes, the republicans still elect the supervisors here."

Speaker—"Does your successor in office continue to enforce the law against liquor selling as faithfully as you did?"

Deacon—"Well, no, I am sorry to say that he does not, and the law is practically a dead letter here now."

Speaker—"Well, deacon, I will only trouble you with one more question: Why did they not re-elect you, or elect some one else of your sentiments, who would continue the enforcement of the law against rum-selling?"

Both the deacon and his friends were able to see the point of the argument through the example thus unexpectedly furnished, and no less than a dozen voters had the frankness to confess, after the lecture, that it was to them "an open secret" that the party leaders had counseled the nomination of another man in place of the deacon, fearing that unless they did so the liquor republicans would unite with the democrats and elect a supervisor.

A party whose members are radically divided on any question can never adopt a positive and acceptable policy on that question, but members of all other parties, except our own, are radically divided on the method of dealing with the liquor question; therefore, neither of such parties can adopt a policy which will lead to a satisfactory adjustment of this great question.

Consequently, these liquor crime political organizations are constantly verifying the sad theory so aptly expressed in the Prohibition national platform of 1872:

"There can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing party competition for the liquor vote; any party not openly opposed to the traffic, experience shows, will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot and every object of good government for party success."

Perhaps Mr. Blaine might find, in the fact and principle here set forth, an apt illustration in his own party of the very pathetic peroration with which he closes his long-delayed and long drawn out letter of acceptance. No, such gentlemen cannot see, "blindness has happened unto them." In the forcible words of Judge Noah Davis the liquor traffic thus "Seizes the enginery of legislation, and by it creates a moral phenomenon of perpetual motion, which nature denies to physics; for it licenses and empowers itself to beget in endless rounds the wrongs, vices and crimes which society is organized to prevent. *And, worst of all for our country, it encoils parties like the serpents of Laocoon, and crushes in its folds the spirit of patriotism and virtue.*"

Surely this horrible classic figure is aptly applied here by this learned and good man, who has for many years had rare opportunities for observing and knowing the truth whereof he affirms. The enormous serpents crushing out the life of the heathen priest and his two sons, and their almost superhuman efforts to release themselves from the coils of the monsters, is a fit emblem of the two great national parties struggling in the slimy folds of the whisky ring. Meanwhile, the huge wooden horse of the Greeks, against which Laocoon protested, was not more ruinous to the Trojans than are the immense distilleries, breweries and dram-shops which these parties continue to legalize for the purpose of conciliating their monstrous power. As party organizations they

are firmly held and cannot escape from the power which is surely and rapidly crushing out their essential life. It is, therefore, the solemn, patriotic duty of all good citizens, regardless of past party affiliations, to combine their forces at the ballot box, and thus displace these old mal-conditioned parties by a new and better one, which is deliberately pledged to free the land from the long continued desolating reign of the liquor oligarchy and the rum power. Are not the cries of the needy, the widow and the fatherless, hourly ascending to heaven, from all parts of the land, pleading in plaintive tones for deliverance from this pestilential scourge, this blighting moral mildew which has rested so long and painfully on country, home and heart! Do not the people demand a vindication of their rights against those merciless manipulators of party machinery, through whose machinations they have been long and shamefully defrauded? What say the more than 320,000 whose votes were cast for the sacred principle of Prohibition, in Ohio, a few months ago, but made of no effect through party chicanery and fraud?

We have not the time here to review the history of the Prohibition party. However, it sprang from the conscious need of such an organization, in the minds of thoughtful people. It was formally organized September 1, 1869, in the city of Chicago. Its first nominating national convention was held in Columbus, Ohio, February 22, 1872, and the fourth one will convene here to-morrow. Its growth has not been rapid, but those who were most forward in its formation are neither disappointed nor discouraged by this fact. It has, however, held firmly on its way, taken deep root and stretched across the continent, sent out its branches to the oceans on either side. Its principles and its friends are both broad and noble enough to know no North, no South, no East, no West. It has come, we trust as a delivering angel to the whole country. It is safe to predict that its progress from this time forward will be much more rapid.

But the seed-time is now, the harvest will be by and by. To-day and duty belong to us, results and the future are with God. First the battle, then the victory.

Regarding the work of the convention, I have only this to say: Do everything as in the presence of a just and holy God, and as under the eyes of a great, intelligent, earnest and progressive people.

Nominate as your standard-bearers, regardless of all preconceived notions or local preferences, the men who will the most truly represent the principles of the party, and, all things considered, best deserve the suffrages of the people of the whole country for the high offices for which you place them in nomination.

Unlike the other parties, which, having nothing definite to say have used much space and many words in saying it, we should present a brief, clear, pointed platform, free from platitudes and glittering generalities, defining our position unambiguously on a few main questions, particularly on the one which from the beginning we have boldly and uniformly presented as a paramount political issue—unqualified state and national, constitutional and statutory prohibition of the liquor traffic.

As the greater portion of the delegates had arrived in the city the day previous to the opening of the convention, nearly all were present and listened with deep interest to Mr. Russell's address, and, it is safe to say that at its close all went home better prepared for the work before them, for having listened to his able and convincing arguments and eloquent appeals.

THE CONVENTION PROPER.

On the morning of July 23d the delegates assembled in Lafayette Hall. Here let us linger for a single moment to reflect upon the fitness of the place chosen for the meeting of the convention. In the State of Pennsylvania the Republic was born, and the old "liberty bell" first proclaimed "liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

In this state, too, the first whisky insurrection went down before the bayonets of the militia, and in Lafayette Hall was organized the campaign which struck the shackles from the arms of millions and made them freemen. It was well that in this hall, in this city and in this noble state, each so fraught with grand historic memories, should be laid the plans for the first great battle in the war which is to put a crown upon the brow of liberty and place every citizen of America beyond and above the power of future captivity.

At eleven o'clock a. m. the convention was called to order by Chairman Stewart, and opened with an earnest and impassioned prayer by Rev. A. A. Miner D. D., of Boston.

Mr. C. L. Rose, of Pittsburgh, delivered a cordial address of welcome. Some of its paragraphs were epigrammatic, and deserve to be perpetuated in history. The following may serve as illustrations:

* * * * "This (contribution) is made out of the essence of moral convictions."

* * * * "It is only following in the grooves cut by cannon balls fired in defence of liberty."

* * * * "Our issue is but the moral outgrowth of Christian civilization."

* * * * "A political party that is not able to make a distinction between a business that is the enemy of all righteousness and one that is a blessing to every home, is not fit to hold the reins of government."

* * * * "Back of us is a century of desolation, caused by a legalized liquor traffic, the history of which is like a perpetual plague."

Chairman Stewart responded to the address of welcome, in a few words of cordial thanks, and then proceeded to deliver an opening address, which was so complete an analysis of the issue, so powerful an argument in its behalf and so able a discussion of the principles involved, that, were there no other reason, it should appear in its entirety in this work, in order that it might be preserved and that those who come after us might have a clearer perception of the motives which gave impetus to our work.

OPENING ADDRESS BY CHAIRMAN STEWART.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THIS NATIONAL CONVENTION:—Before proceeding to the important work for which we have convened, let us pause and ponder some of the great lessons revealed to us in this honored place and by its hallowed history.

CORRELATION OF CRIMES.

And first is that of the national correlation of the liquor and slavery crimes. The Anti-Slavery National Convention of thirty-two years ago in this hall, came to consider an effect. This Convention comes to consider the cause of that effect. The two great reforms represented in these two National Conventions were so marked in the parallels of their history, so similar in all their forms and movements, religious, moral, social and political, both culminating at last in national political parties, organized to bring the power of the general Government to their support, that the record of the one which is closed, is very often appealed to in the progress of the other.

Our meeting here calls up that record. By some it is objected that this comparison of the two reforms may tend to excite sectional prejudices against the Prohibition cause; but this is impossible if their origin and true relation to each other are well understood. One of the most effectual means for removing all sectional animosities and prejudices is to follow these parallels of history into the origin of the two evils and to show that both were national and not sectional, and that one was mainly derived from the other. We learn wisdom from the errors, as well as the achievements of the reformers who have gone before us. The anti-slavery men were strangely blind to the correlation of the two evils. When they met here in 1852, they declared their national policy and laid out broadly before the world, the platform of their principles and measures. They did not go to sea upon a single plank, there to float until some full-rigged party ship should sail by and pick them up; but with slavery they associated its relative evils and reforms; and they outlined a policy worthy of a party born to rule the government.

But they overlooked the greatest of all those evils, and their platform was silent as to the parent crime, of which slavery in this nation was but the natural offspring. With four-fifths of all the crimes that have cursed and are cursing this republic, the slavery crime was born of the liquor crime. When a few weeks ago, in the Senate of the United States, a distinguished statesman of Georgia asserted and proved by irrefutable facts and figures, that African Slavery, as it had existed in the Southern States, was the product of northern distilleries, he only echoed a truth which the whole history of the African slave trade and slavery shows. Through more than a century the slave trade was for the most part carried on by vessels which went to the African coast with cargoes of rum and returned to American and West Indian ports with cargoes of slaves. Thus African slavery was introduced into this country. Thus America poured the destroying curse of the liquor crime on Africa, and by the fiat of avenging justice, Africa poured back the curse of African slavery upon America.

All through their existence here the two crimes mutually sustained and strengthened each other. We know that the worst horrors of slavery here and the slave trade between the two continents, were caused by alcohol. If instead of an Anti-Slavery party, a National Prohibition party against the liquor crime had been formed forty-five years ago, which had taken possession of the government and abolished that crime throughout this nation, the slavery problem would have been peacefully solved in the abolition of that evil by the ballot, and the civil war would have had no place in our history. In this hall the anti-slavery reformers lifted the axe of civil liberty to cut down one great branch of the upas tree which, with its malign shadows, has darkened the republic. To-

day we meet to lay that axe to the roots of the same upas, thus to remove the main source of oppression and injustice to labor, and of all crime, vice, ignorance, poverty, debasement and misery in our land.

A COMPROMISE WITH CRIME IS ITSELF A CRIME.

The second great lesson here taught is this: Every compromise with crime and every treaty or covenant with it that recognizes and permits its existence, is itself a crime. Sixty-four years ago, the State of Pennsylvania, by the unanimous voice of its legislature, made its appeal to the other states of the Union, entreating them in its memorable words, "to refuse to covenant with crime," and declared the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories. The National Anti-Slavery Convention of 1852 in this hall adopted this resolution:

"That Slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man, which no human enactment or usage can make right, and that christianity, humanity and patriotism alike demand its abolition."

It declared against all compromise, asserting that there could be no permanent settlement of the slavery question except by the total separation of the general government from slavery and the exercise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of freedom." By substituting "the Liquor Crime" for "Slavery" in this platform, we have the right basis of our present movement. These declarations of principle are sound in law as they are in reason and morals. The man who aids, abets or procures another to commit any act by law made criminal, is on conviction held equally guilty with the principal offender and receives the same punishment. Every man who holds in his hand the freeman's ballot, under this government of the people by the people, holds by it the power of prohibition against every crime, and with that power in his hand, if he himself, or by his political agents, enters into treaty with any crime and permits its existence on payment of money into the public treasury, or for any other consideration, he thereby aids, abets and procures the commission of that crime, and identifies himself with it. The whole compromise system for the pretended regulation, taxation and moral cultivation of the Liquor Crime, is together and every part, a sin against God and a crime against man.

The argument in its support is all rotten with wrong and reeking with blood. It is the logic of coiled vipers, flowered with the rhetoric of fiends. Its absurdity is equal to its infamy; and this is not less evident when some man who wears sacred vestments and writes "D. D." after his name, publicly advertises from his pulpit the devil's patent for bringing in the millennium, by the aid of government pulleys with high regulation, high tax and high license, to lift up the gates of hell to a level with the gates of heaven. In all ages and nations of the world, and as to every crime to which the compromise system has been applied, the final effect has been only to increase, strengthen and perpetuate the crime. This has been especially true of the liquor and slavery crimes.

One century ago, in the year 1784, the great southern statesman, Thomas Jefferson, offered and urged his famous bill in congress to totally prohibit slavery in all the territories then held by the United States government and all that it might afterwards acquire. Then there were no political parties in the way, the popular heart beat warmly for freedom; slavery was weak, and the territories were almost unsullied by the crime. If that bill had passed congress, what a vast and beneficent change there would have been in the history of the century that has just ended! But the serpent-

fiend of compromise beguiled the fathers of the republic in their new Eden of liberty. Prohibition then failed and compromise triumphed. Slavery compromise parties were organized and took possession of the government, and a long succession of compromises in many forms were the result, all tending to build up and augment the slave system, especially in the territories and new states formed out of them.

Like the Russian nobleman with his family in his sleigh, pursued by wolves over the snows, who, in the desperation of his flight, threw out one child and then another to stay the terrible foe and to save the rest of his family, so this republic gave state after state of those born in her territories to the wolves of compromise. First it gave Kentucky to the wolf to save Vermont; and then Tennessee to save Ohio, Louisiana for Indiana, Mississippi for Illinois, Florida for Iowa, and so continued until the whole wolf pack, fed by every new sacrifice and grown stronger and more numerous by every fresh concession, closed about the parent Union, and the four year's conflict was fought for the life of the nation. In the roar of a thousand battles and the blood of a million lives the crime and all its compromises were slain together, and so prohibition triumphed at last and forever. Compare prohibition and its results with compromise and its effects in their application to crimes, and it is but contrasting heaven with hell.

A NATIONAL CRIME DEMANDS NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

One of the most prevalent and dangerous forms of compromise with the liquor crime is that which is made by professed temperance voters through their respective parties, by which, for the purpose of securing local prohibition or local option, they consent that the crime shall have free course over all the rest of the state and nation; or to secure nominal state prohibition, they consent that the crime shall rule the nation. Every voter who thus consents to the liquor crime so far as his consent goes, becomes morally, logically and practically a part of the crime.

A national crime, organized and in control of the government, demands national prohibition by a party formed for the purpose. Our government is that of a nation composed of states,

"Distinct as the billows, but one as the sea."

An attempt to reform the national government and to abolish a ruling national crime by merely changing the laws and constitutions of states, would be as vain as to expect a revolution of the sea by the mere wind that turns its waves. Within state limits constitutional and statutory prohibition against the liquor traffic have accomplished great good, and they rightly receive our most hearty support; but as opposed to the national power of the ruling crime, they are as impotent as ropes of sand in the teeth of Niagara.

Just before the late war our nation was shuddering on the verge of a decision from the Supreme Court of the United States, then announced and expected, that would have obliterated all the state constitutional and statutory prohibitions of slavery, and would have converted every inch of the republic into slave soil by the national constitution.

The liquor crime conspirators and their servient politicians have been, and are, attempting to accomplish a similar result by securing an act of congress to be capped by a Supreme Court decision, which will sweep away all state and local constitutional and statutory prohibition against the liquor traffic, and will give to the liquor crime the full license of the national constitution. To coerce the national parties under its control, to this work, is now one of the great aims of the liquor power. It is the only way to pre-

vent the liquor crime from soon following the fate of the slavery crime before the moral forces which now shake the nation.

Here let us again turn to the record of the anti-slavery reformers. When they met in this hall in 1852 they had sixteen of the thirty-one states of the Union, a majority of one, consecrated to prohibition of the slavery crime by state constitutions and statutes, and hence, known as "the free states," four times as many as with all our efforts, we have been able so far to convert to prohibition of the liquor crime. In all those states the whig and democratic national parties stood pledged to support and enforce these prohibitory enactments, while as national parties competing for the southern vote, they compromised with and sustained the crime.

The governors of those states and nearly all the leading politicians of both parties there were personally total abstinent from the slavery crime. The President of the United States was a citizen of a free state and total abstinent from that crime, and there were no slaves in the White House.

And yet with all this in favor of liberty, the nation and every state in the nation was in the profoundest depth of servility to the slave power because it ruled the nation. Ten years before, in 1842, in the place where I live in Ohio I saw five men and seven women and children delivered by a judge of the court into the hands of men who placed them in chains in a stage coach, on a Sunday morning, all the church bells ringing "amen," and drove them, without resistance from any person, over two hundred miles across the state, and consigned them to slavery. Of what avail was it that for fifty-five years the ordinance of 1787 had prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude in all territory out of which the state was taken, that the state constitution for forty years had repeated the prohibition, and by its statute law, the state punished with imprisonment in the penitentiary the crime of enslaving a human being? All the moral forces of the state were paralyzed in the presence of the crime, and all the lion manhood of Ohio sneaked to its lair.

Why was this? It was to save "the glorious whig party," "the glorious democratic party," that this sacrifice to the party Moloch was demanded. It was because the two great parties of Ohio, while as state organizations they professed opposition to slavery, and pledged themselves to support the prohibitions of the state constitution and laws against it, were but subordinate factors of national parties controlled by the slave power. Thus every man who then stood voting in the ranks of the whig and democratic parties was politically, logically and practically a slavery criminal before God and man. Truth said so then, the whole world says so now. Let these lessons of the past be applied to the present.

We have four nominally Prohibition states at the north, with state prohibitory laws, and half a dozen at the south, mostly covered with local prohibition in various forms against the liquor traffic, but when the republican national Convention was held at Chicago last month, and each one of those ten states had its member of the committee on platform there, not one of them dared to sign a minority report to break the silence of the convention on the liquor question; and in the democratic national convention, held in the same city this month, where the same ten states had their members of the committee on platform, not one of them dared to sign a minority report protesting against the open declarations of that platform in support of the liquor crime. Thus are all the republican and democratic Prohibitionists of the United States bound as serfs of the liquor power under the lash of their party keepers. Thus the forces which rule the great

political sea of the nation sway the billows at pleasure and toss them in derisive foam.

In 1872, when the influence of the women of the United States was desired in aid of the election of the republican candidate for the presidency, Gen. Grant, the republican national convention adopted this resolution in its platform:

"The republican party is mindful of its obligation to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom; their admission to the wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction, and the honest demands of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration."

When the women of America by hundreds of thousands had entered the "wider fields of usefulness," by organizing the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in every state and territory of this nation, and their honored and most worthy head, Frances E. Willard, stood at the door of the republican national convention, pleading for the protection of their homes, for the unalienable rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," guaranteed to them in the Declaration of Independence, against the crimes and cruelties of the liquor power, and claiming the right of the people affirmed in that charter of our liberties, to change their form of government when it "becomes destructive of these ends," by an amendment of their constitution to express their will on the question, she, in her sublime mission, and the prayer of the Christian women of the nation, were denied that "respectful consideration" and treated with silent contempt. What could more vividly illustrate before the whole world the abject servility of that party to the liquor power, its perfidy to its own pledges and to the fundamental principles of the government.

SEPARATION FROM THE LIQUOR CRIME PARTIES.

Although the free states had enjoyed their full measure of such protection as slave compromise parties could give by state constitutions and laws against slavery, some of them for over fifty years, all these states came together by their representatives here, in the convention of 1852, protesting that state prohibition by compromise parties was in vain, and demanding national prohibition by a national party formed for the purpose as the only means to meet and overcome the ruling crime of the republic. They utterly renounced the two wings of the slave compromise party and declared for total separation from, and exterminating political war against them.

The anti-slavery men assumed the name of the free democratic party (afterwards changed to republican) nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, for president, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, for vice-president, and adopted this resolution in their platform:

"The free democratic party is not organized to aid either the whig or democratic wing of the great slave compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that repudiating and renouncing both as hopelessly corrupt and utterly unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the free democracy is to take possession of the federal government and administer it for the better protection of the rights and interests of the whole people."

They had been organized as a party under other names through nearly thirteen years, and had tried to their satisfaction the folly of fusion with compromise politicians. At the presidential election four years before, lured by false hopes and deceived by false pretenses, they had joined the revolt of a partisan leader in his personal crusade for political revenge, but soon after the presidential

election at which they had voted for him, he abandoned them with over a hundred thousand of his followers. With broken columns and thinned ranks, disordered and disorganized, but yet unconquered and unconquerable in the faith of their God and their cause, they met in these walls and reorganized, not for one campaign, but for the war.

They reformed their party not only in the nation, but in every state in every division and sub-division of it, nominating full tickets from president to pathmaster, rejecting all entangling alliances with the crime compromise parties and politicians and declaring total separation from them forever. They were abused and ridiculed as narrow-minded, fanatical and impracticable through the twenty-one years which they measured between their party cradle and the White House, but they stood firmly within their political battle lines and there they organized victory. At the next presidential election of 1852 they cast 135,000 less votes than they did four years before when they followed the flag of the betrayer, but these were all true votes given by and for true men. Four years after that they increased their vote by more than a million; and in four years more their bugles sounded at the capitol, and their banners blazed in triumph over the nation.

REUNION OF THE REPUBLIC.

The two national conventions of 1852 and 1884 differ in this important aspect. The first ushered in a political party triumph, which was followed by civil war. The ballot led, the cannon and bayonet followed. This convention comes to proclaim a glorious peace. Its mission is the reunion of the republic, not in mere form but in fact, in truth and in the hearts of all the people.

As the first and indispensable step to that reunion, it is very evident that there must be a total abolition of the two war parties which have so long divided the union with the sword of disunion. It is of no consequence which of them is to go first. In the grave of their master, the liquor power, let them both be quickly buried.

When the war of the Revolution ended, the two political parties of that period, the whigs and tories, disappeared together. There were no parties to divide the people under the administration of Washington. When the second war with England closed, one of the two political parties of the war, the Federal disbanded, and the other, the republican, after dividing into four factions with four candidates for president, disappeared from the country. There was no opposition to the second election of Monroe. By this patriotic policy, in political peace the wounds of war were healed and not torn open at every election by conflicting factions. Well and wisely then the heart of the nation so decreed.

But here, after nineteen years have gone since the great civil war ended, when more than half of all the men who fought in the union and confederate armies, and more than half of all the voters in the ranks of both these political parties as the war ceased, have gone to their graves, and the country is ruled by a new generation of men, more than five millions in number, who were but children when the war was in progress, we find at every recurring election, the republican and democratic parties of the war, still covered with the blood of its thousand battles and standing on the graves of its million victims, flaunting their old battle flags, shouting their old war cries, and hurling against each other the bitter embers of sectional hates, passions and prejudices, which they have so long engendered and perpetuated in the nation.

The republican party which during and ever since the war,

has administered the national government, continues to demand, as the price of a restored union, that the men of the South shall enlist in the republican party and serve there to maintain its corrupt ascendancy.

If when the civil war ended, the commanders of the union army had issued their military orders, requiring as one of the conditions in the surrender of the confederate soldiers, that they should put on the uniform of the union army and serve in its ranks in token of their degradation, the whole North would have risen up with indignant protest, and the civilized world would have hissed at the outrage.

But what the chivalry of an army, the humanity of a nation and the civilization of the world would forbid, the infamy of a political party has attempted through nearly a score of years, to compel by threats of military power, or to win by the bribes of executive patronage. The attempt has been vain in the past, and it will be more vain in the future. While that sun which looked down on those thousand battles still shines on high, and the earth rolls beneath with its graves, the sires and sons of the sires who fought under the confederate flag will never consent to put on the political uniform of the republican party and serve in the ranks of their conquerors. The manhood of the North should never demand it and the manhood of the South will never submit to it.

Out of a political contest, lying mainly between the North and the South, that civil war arose. It is a most startling and ominous portent, dark with clouds of danger to the republic, that in this twentieth year since the military war ceased, the political war continues. If the republican administration, as a party measure, should involve this country in war with some great foreign power, where would that enemy strike the first blow and find the weakest defense?

But the peril would be far less from the foreign than it is from the domestic foe. The long disruption of the moral and religious forces of the nation and their bitter partisan conflict with each other, is a fact pregnant with much greater danger than any foreign invasion. They are the vital forces of the republic. In and by them it lives and moves and has its being. Without them it quickly perishes. The truths of Washington's farewell address to his countrymen are now the axioms of all history.

Sound and pure morals among the people are the only basis of free government, and there can be no true morality not founded on religion. The churches of this country were divided by the war. On the South side of the battle-line, thousands of churches flamed and thundered for slavery and the confederacy. On the North side, thousands of churches flamed and thundered for liberty and the union. Both sides were bravely honest and true to their convictions of right. Both appealed to the Bible and to heaven for the rectitude of their cause, and the God of battles decided the issue between them. But just as they were left by the war they stand to-day, arrayed against each other in political hostility in the old war parties. South of the war line the churches remain for the most part massed in the democratic party; North of it they are for the most part massed in the republican party.

Year after year this most unnatural warfare between the noblest elements of our civilization is prolonged with party ballots instead of cannons and rifles. Through all these many years the cry from the hearts of all the churches and the cry from the hearts of all the people has been, and is, for a new party of peace and progress to bring again in joy and glory the reunion of the repub-

lic. Our party has been called into being by the voice of God to meet that cry of the nation. It proclaims a policy which binds in unity all the religious and moral forces for its support. It builds on the foundations of the republic. Prohibition is civil liberty against crime. License is personal liberty for crime. Ours is a conflict with the greatest crime that ever cursed the world, the universal foe of men and nations. Shall that destroyer of all the republics of past history destroy our own, with all the greatness of its achievements and in all the splendor of its rising hopes? It is for us to meet and answer that question in the salvation and perpetual reunion of the republic.

All around us the air is thronged with the spirits of the illustrious founders, patriots, and sages of the republic, appealing to us to go forward in this mighty cause. From all the battle fields of the nation white-winged angels rise to bear our banners before us. From all the million graves of its martyred heroes, and oh, from those unnumbered millions of dark, sad graves of the sons of the republic who have been murdered by the liquor crime, for whom no laurels twine and no flower wreaths fall when the nation decorates the tombs of its dead, from them all, pale hands are lifting up to point our way. Let this convention rise to the grandeur of its mission and do its duty here fully, bravely and right, and all the grateful future will come to crown its work with fadeless glory.

The address was listened to with close attention and with occasional plaudits. The allusion to Miss Willard was greeted with special applause, and her treatment by the republican convention was denounced by shouts of "Shame!" "Shame!"

After the applause that followed the close of Mr. Stewart's address had somewhat subsided, that gentleman announced that the National Committee had unanimously recommended Hon. Wm. Daniel, of Maryland, for temporary chairman, and Mary A. Woodbridge, of Ohio, and Charles S. Carter, of Washington, for secretaries, and they were elected. Mr. Stewart introduced Mr. Daniel, who upon taking the chair, made a forcible and entertaining address. He gave a good account of matters in Maryland, his own state, and discussed at some length the general situation. Mr. Daniel's address was well received, and many of his points were greeted with prolonged and enthusiastic applause.

The band played, "Way down upon the Suwanee river." "Three cheers for Maryland and her Little Giant" were again given, followed by the songs, "My Maryland" and "Dare to be a Daniel."

Mr. Stewart announced that the National Committee had adopted a resolution to seat all delegates having credentials, whether under the call or not, and it would be for the convention afterward to say whether they should take part in the proceedings or remain as honored visitors. Also one that the National Committee select a committee of five to prepare a roll of delegates from the credentials presented by the different states under the call, this roll to be presented to the chairman of the National Committee upon his calling the convention to order. Mr. Stewart announced

that A. J. Jenkins had the list, and Chairman Daniel called upon the latter to read it. The list as read was as follows:

Alabama, 2; California, 23; Connecticut, 16, Illinois, 45; Kansas, 17; Kentucky 6; Maine, 3, Massachusetts, 19; Maryland, 15; Michigan, 56, Minnesota, 20; Mississippi, 20; Nebraska, 3; Ohio, 84; New Jersey, 18; New Hampshire, 3; Texas, 12; Missouri, 1; Wisconsin, 55; Pennsylvania, 58; New York, 75. Total, 501.

Chairman Daniel called upon Secretary Mrs. Woodbridge to call the roll of states, and the following committee on credentials was chosen, consisting of one from each state:

Alabama, J. T. Tanner; Conn., A. R. Heath; Illinois, T. J. Wood, Kansas, F. F. Kimball; Maryland, C. S. Mosher; Michigan, Wm. A. Taylor, Minnesota, A. W. Edwards; Nebraska, S. F. S. Templin, New York, Virgil A. Willard; Ohio, D. W. Gage; New Hampshire, Jas. M. Marden; Tennessee, C. S. McGuire; Texas, E. L. Dohoney; Pennsylvania, I. Newton Pierce; Wisconsin, Dr. F. J. Patchen, California, C. A. Bateman; Maine, W. T. Eustis; Massachusetts, E. H. Clapp; Missouri, M. W. Watson; New Jersey, Hiram D. Opdyke; Kentucky, J. Mont Hunter; Georgia, Mrs. Laurence Lord; Indiana, Mrs. J. R. Nichols.

Upon motion of L. Newton Pierce, of Philadelphia, the committee on credentials was instructed to report at three o'clock, and the convention adjourned until that hour.

The afternoon session was opened with prayer by Rev. J. W. Haney, of Illinois. Before the chairman called for the report of the committee on credentials, Secretary Woodbridge read a number of communications which were received with applause. One was from Missouri Prohibitionists, and read as follows:

"Mormons and liquor dealers must learn that the liberty of the individual closes when the right of society begins."

The Middletown, Connecticut, Prohibition society sent greeting and said:

"A prayer and praise meeting in this city last evening invoked divine guidance and wisdom to attend the convention through all its deliberations, and blessings on the work it shall perform. May every delegate feel his responsibility as never before, is the earnest prayer of this society."

Eastern Pennsylvania sent greeting, and directed the attention of the convention to the sixteenth and seventeenth verses of the ninetyeth psalm.

Mr. J. D. Watkins, of Kansas, sent his regrets that he could not be present, and his assurance that he should vote for the nominee of the convention.

These messages are interesting, as indicating the general feeling of Prohibitionists throughout the country while the convention was in session, and the deep solicitude with which they watched its deliberations.

The following telegram was sent to the two Prohibition conventions in session in Indiana:

TO THE PROHIBITION CONVENTION AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND:—
"The National Prohibition Convention in assembly at Pittsburgh, representing thirty-one states and territories with 501 delegates,

says to Indiana, 'Stand firm; trust God's cause, and organize an independent party for Prohibition.'

On motion of Mr. J. W. Haney, of Illinois, the courtesy of the convention was extended to Mr. C. A. Blanchard, the representative of the American party. Mr. Blanchard presented the greetings of that party, and spoke of the similarity of purpose existing between that and the present party, of their unity of interests and principles etc. He was listened to with marked attention until he came to the one point of difference—the secret society plank in the American party platform—when he was interrupted, and his closing remarks were made amid some confusion. It was to be regretted that this circumstance, the only one which marred the entire harmony of the convention, should have occurred. It would have been better if the courtesy extended Mr. Blanchard had been continued until the end of his address, in which case no member of the convention would have had anything to look back to with regret.

The Committee on Resolutions being not yet ready to report, Miss Frances E. Willard asked for three minutes in which to present the Memorial from the N. W. C. T. U., the same that she had presented to the republican, greenback and democratic conventions, and which appears in full in connection with our account of the action of the first, heretofore given. In presenting the memorial Miss Willard said:

'Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: On behalf of the Women's National Christian Temperance Union, I carried this Memorial from forty-eight states and territories, bearing the signatures of the officers of our society, to the greenback convention, which was the first one to convene, at Indianapolis. The Rev. Dr. Gilbert De La Matyr, in a rousing speech said he felt it a great honor to present it, and advocated the adoption of its provisions. It was received and referred to the Committee on Resolutions, after having been read before the convention. The committee, although the convention evidently was in hearty sympathy with the memorial, lacked the courage to adopt its principles, but recommended that the two great questions of Prohibition and the ballot for woman be referred to the different states, and that there be a suggestion of a constitutional amendment in their favor. We did not, in this memorial, ask for woman's ballot, but in their resolution they put the subjects under one head and requested that they be submitted to the people of the United States.

A few weeks later, to the republican convention at Chicago I carried this memorial, and three minutes were given in which to hear it, although there was a motion to the contrary. Through the efforts of Senator Blair, fifteen minutes were allowed me in which to address the committee, although there was a motion to prevent

any speech at all on behalf of the Womans' Christian Temperance Union. Although I watched my watch, and my sister said I kept within my time, as I did not use three of the fifteen minutes accorded to me, my address was impatiently received, and the resolution was committed to the care of the politicians under whose charge it will never be resurrected under that regime. "It is sweet to be remembered—it is sad to be forgot." They forgot all about us and our memorial.

I then went to the democratic convention with the same memorial, and the gallant gentleman from Louisiana, Maj. E. A. Burke, who is the Manager General of the coming exposition, said: "I will be delighted to present your memorial: I have done that sort of work in Louisiana before," and he offered it to the convention. But that convention, in their platform, declared against sumptuary laws, so called, as offensive to the citizens.

And now we bring this memorial here, tied with blue ribbon, to its natural home, to its native heath. That dove went flitting from one convention to another, like the dove from Noah's ark, which found no rest for its foot, but came back to its home—to the ark—and was at last drawn in. (Great applause). And so, to-day I lay down the burden which I have carried so far, and I see, "in my mind's eye," the reverend doctor, the Father Noah—Prohibition—drawing home this dove to his breast and saying, "be at peace." (Great applause and three cheers for Miss Willard.)

It is, perhaps, needless to say more in this connection, except to add that the memorial was adopted unanimously and with the greatest enthusiasm, the members of the convention vying with each other as to who should have the honor of making the motion in its favor, and adopting it with three cheers when it came up in its regular order.

Mrs. Minnie Mosher Jackson, of Maryland, recited a poem which was received with hearty applause, and the convention then listened to the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS,

read by the Secretary of the Committee, E. H. Clapp, as follows:

Whole number of states represented, 28; territories, 3, total, 31. Delegates elected under the call, 436, those elected not under call, 171; total delegates elected, 607; number of delegates present from states which elected under call, 377; number present not elected under call, 88; total representation present, 465.

The committee reported a resolution for adoption that all of these delegates be declared entitled to their seats, and as the delegations from some of the states were not all present, that those who were present be permitted to cast the entire vote to which the state or territory was entitled. A motion was made to adopt these resolutions. Considerable discussion followed, but upon a call for the question the vote on the resolutions was taken, and declared carried, thus admitting all of the delegates, and also allowing a partial state representation to vote for the absent members.

The following table shows the representation from the different states, and was embraced in the report of the committee;

STATES.	Number entitled under call.....	Number outside of call.....	Whole number..	Number present regular.....	Number present outside of call.	Whole number present.....
Alabama.....	2	2	2	2	2	2
California.....	23	23	7	7	7	7
Connecticut.....	4	8	12	4	5	9
Illinois.....	45	45	45	45	45	45
Kansas.....	18	18	3	3	3	3
Maryland.....	16	16	16	16	16	16
Michigan.....	56	56	56	56	56	56
Minnesota.....	20	20	13	13	13	13
Nebraska.....	12	12	3	3	3	3
Missouri.....	7	31	38	7	7	7
New York.....	75	75	75	75	75	75
Ohio.....	34	12	46	34	12	46
New Hampshire.....	4	4	8	3	3	3
Tennessee.....	12	12	12	12	12	12
Texas.....	10	12	1	1	1	1
Pennsylvania.....	30	28	58	30	28	58
Georgia.....	2	2	2	2	2	2
Wisconsin.....	55	55	55	55	55	55
New Jersey.....	19	19	19	19	19	19
Massachusetts.....	9	19	28	9	10	19
District of Columbia.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maine.....	3	9	12	3	3	3
Louisiana.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dakota.....	2	2	2	2	2	2
Kentucky.....	18	18	1	1	1	1
Arkansas.....	13	13	1	1	1	1
West Virginia.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
Rhode Island.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
Oregon.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
Arizona.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
Indiana.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total.....	436	171	607	377	88	465

A motion that the report be adopted and the committee discharged was followed by a lengthy discussion, but finally prevailed, and the convention found itself composed of 465 delegates, representing thirty-one states and territories and entitled to cast 607 votes.

The roll was then called by Secretary Mrs. Woodbridge, and resulted in the choice of the following

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

J. T. Tanner, of Alabama; Miss Frances Waller, of Arkansas; C. D. Rice, of Connecticut; John Swany, of Illinois; O. J. Flagg, of Louisiana; H. H. Harvey, of Maine; James Hamilton, of Michigan; G. P. Burwell, of Ohio; J. M. Fletcher, of New Hampshire; James H. Rollins, of Massachusetts; A. A. Hopkins, of New York; William Hoop, of Minnesota; J. M. Richards, of West Virginia; S. P. Hunter, of Pennsylvania; A. A. Wheelock, of District of Columbia; R. H. Dolliver, of Dakota; J. F. Cleghorn, of Wisconsin; F. McD. Green, of California; R. L. Hays, of Tennessee; James St. John, of Kansas; J. M. Hunter, of Kentucky; M. W.

Watson, of Missouri; W. D. King, of Oregon; W. M. Price, of Maryland; Thomas V. Cator, of New Jersey; Mrs. A. L. Lord, of Georgia; John B. Finch, of Nebraska.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The call of the roll of states for the formation of the Committee on Resolutions resulted in the following selections:

J. T. Tanner, of Alabama; Mrs. R. A. Turner, of Arkansas; H. L. Ross, of California; A. Morehouse, of Connecticut; Miss Frances E. Willard, of Illinois; M. V. B. Bennett, of Kansas; N. F. Woodbury, of Maine; John L. Thomas, of Maryland; A. A. Miner, of Massachusetts; John Russell, of Michigan; A. Willing, of Minnesota; Mrs. R. Hazzard, of Missouri; Charles A. Hovey, of New Hampshire; H. P. Davidson, of New Jersey; Judge W. J. Groo, of New York; J. Odell, of Ohio; James Black, of Pennsylvania; John McClean, of Wisconsin, and R. H. Dolliver, of Dakota.

A resolution was adopted that all resolutions presented hereafter would be referred to the committee.

COMMITTEE ON RULES.

The Committee on Rules were selected by a call of the roll of states, and resulted as follows:

C. A. Bateman, of California; Mrs. C. B. Buell, of Connecticut; J. A. Brouse, of Illinois; A. A. Stevens, of Pennsylvania; A. M. Richardson, of Kansas; R. D. Morrison, of Maryland; D. A. Smith, of Massachusetts; Merritt Moore, of Michigan; F. M. McGuire, of Nebraska; Anna S. Cairns, of Missouri; James M. Hardin, of New Hampshire; Isaac S. Quinby, of New Jersey; M. E. Dunham, of New York; E. W. Chapin, of Wisconsin; J. T. Tanner, of Alabama; J. W. Smith, of Tennessee; E. L. Dohoney, of Texas. Adjourned until eight o'clock, p. m.

The evening session of July 23d was opened with prayer by Rev. F. M. Warner, of New York.

The Committee on Permanent Organization, through Mr. John B. Finch, reported the following for permanent officers.

Chairman—Samuel Dickey, of Michigan.

Vice Presidents—Alabama, Mrs J. T. Tanner; Connecticut, Geo. P. Rogers; Illinois, J. C. Pepper; Louisiana, O. J. Flagg; Maine, W. T. Eustis; Michigan, Mary T. Lathrap; Nebraska, S. F. S. Templin; S. Carolina, Sally F. Chapin; Ohio, H. A. Thompson; New Hampshire, J. M. Fletcher; Massachusetts, George F. Clark; Minnesota, M. D. Cone; New York, Horace Waters; Pennsylvania, Arthur Craft; District of Columbia, A. A. Wheelock; Dakota, T. D. Kanouse; Wisconsin, Henry Coleman; Tennessee, Ada F. McKinney; California, C. A. Bateman; Kansas, A. M. Richardson; Kentucky, J. Mont Hunter; Missouri, Clara Hoffman; Maryland, Hon. Wm. Silverwood; Oregon, Mrs. H. K. Hines; New Jersey, Gen Clinton B. Fisk; Georgia, Mrs. Laurence Lord. The convention then added as Vice Presidents, Frances Willard, of Illinois; Mary A. Woodbridge, Ohio; Caroline B. Buell, Connecticut; Miss E. Dewey, Ohio, and Mrs. L. M. N. Stevens, of Maine.

For Secretaries—Mary A. Woodbridge, of Ohio; Anna S. Cairns, of Missouri; C. A. Hovey, of New Hampshire, L. S. Freeman, of New York.

Temporary Chairman Daniel then introduced the Permanent Chairman, Prof. Samuel Dickie, of Michigan, who was received with applause. Upon assuming the duties of his office, Chairman Dickie delivered a short, terse and vigorous speech clearly defining the position of the Prohibition party, its purposes, etc., and thanking the convention for the honor conferred upon him.

On motion of Mr. Finch, the convention, by a rising vote, tendered the retiring officers a vote of thanks for their services.

Mr. W. H. Bartram was appointed reading clerk. At this point the Vice Presidents were invited to take seats upon the platform, which they proceeded to do, while the band played "Hold the Fort."

Mr. J. A. Brouse, chairman of the Committee on Rules, reported for that body and the report was adopted.

R. W. Nelson moved that the roll of state be called for the choice of a Committee on Finance, and the motion having been amended to include also the choice of members of the National Committee, to consist of two from each state and territory, and passed, the roll was called with the following result.

FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Alabama, J. T. Tanner; California, F. McD. Green; Connecticut, E. H. Hammond; District of Columbia, A. A. Wheelock; Dakota, George A. Cressy; Illinois, George C. Christian; Kansas, James St. John; Louisiana, O. J. Flagg; Maine, H. H. Harvey; Maryland, Robert McLaughlin; Massachusetts, George F. Clark; Michigan, A. D. Power, Minnesota, W. W. Parker; Missouri, W. M. Beach; Nebraska, S. F. S. Templin, New Hampshire, James M. Marden; New Jersey, Clinton B. Fisk; New York, E. Evans; Ohio, Ferdinand Schumacher; Oregon, Wells Cain; Pennsylvania, Daniel Swoger; Tennessee, Beulah Brown; Texas, E. L. Dohoney; Wisconsin, T. D. Kanouse.

As the National Committee has been increased and otherwise materially changed since the convention, we omit it here, and it will be found as it now stands, in connection with the report of its meeting in New York City, Jan 7, 1885.

The following motion was made by Mr. S. M. Lester, of Pennsylvania:

That the National Committee be empowered to fill vacancies in the committee from the states not organized as soon as such states shall be organized.

This was amended so as to include the territories, also to strike out the words "as soon as such states shall be organized." and was passed as amended, the vote in its favor being unanimous.

A. J. Jutkins was appointed railroad secretary.

On motion of H. B. Kepley, Frances E. Willard was added to the National Committee as a member at large, and on motion of Mrs. M. McClellan Brown, the name of Mother Stewart was also added. The convention then adjourned until Thursday morning.

THE CONVENTION — SECOND DAY.

MORNING SESSION.

The second day's session was opened with prayer by C. C. Leigh, of New York.

A number of resolutions were read and referred to the proper committee. The first was by Mr. John H. Thomas of Maryland, and was as follows:

Resolved, That the convention of the Prohibition party recognizes with due humility the anxious care for the welfare of our party displayed by the representatives of the national government, who in the person of W. W. Dudley, Commissioner of Pensions, and Hon. Hiram Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, have violated civil service rules and used public time to come to Pittsburgh to urge advice upon members of the convention, but we timidly advance the claim that the intelligence of this assembly is ample to provide for its own security.

Other resolutions referred to woman suffrage, and the work of organizing the colored voters in the South. Each was referred without debate, in accordance with the rules.

Letters and telegrams of exhortation and encouragement were read from Hon. J. L. Palmer of Arkansas, the W. C. T. U. of Purchase, Westchester county, New York, Henry S. Woodworth of Rhode Island, the Grand Council Royal Templars of Temperance of the state of New York, and the Temperance Reform Clubs of Massachusetts.

A motion was made by Geo. C. Christian of Chicago, that ten minutes be accorded Mr. John B. Finch, in which to present the subject of newspapers, periodicals, etc., devoted to Prohibition party interests. Mr. Finch was at work with the committee on resolutions at the time, but after a short delay, was introduced, and spoke earnestly upon the worth of these vehicles of thought and the necessity that they be encouraged, sustained and widely circulated.

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES.

In accordance with the adoption of a motion to that effect, reading clerk W. H. H. Bartram, proceeded to call the roll of states for the selection of a candidate for the office of president of the United States.

Mr. J. T. Tanner of Alabama, presented the name of John P. St. John of Kansas.

When California was called, Colonel George Babcock took the platform, and in a most masterly and eloquent speech, named Dr. R. H. McDonald of that state, as its favorite for the nomination. Col. Babcock pictured in glowing terms the work which Dr. McDonald had done and was doing for the cause of Prohibition, his life-long efforts in and liberality to the temperance cause, and repelled with just and righteous indignation the accusation, which he averred had its origin years ago in the whisky slums of the country, that Dr. McDonald had been engaged in the manufacture of a proprietary medicine containing alcohol. He deprecated the fact that members of the convention should have given attention to so palpably false a charge, and to the credit of all concerned he said, Col. Babcock disposed of it so effectually

that it has never been heard of in temperance circles since; and we will add the hope, that the Prohibition party has passed out upon so much wider a plain than it then occupied, that it will never again listen, even for a single moment, to so baseless a charge against one who has proved his sincerity and his faith by his works as has Dr. McDonald.

Col. Babcock spoke eloquently of Dr. McDonald's manhood, experience, intelligence, success as a business man and financier, executive ability and sagacity, as well as of his courage in defending the right and conscientiousness in the discharge of duty, and urged in the interests of the country and in the interests of the cause and the party, that he receive such recognition at the hands of the convention as his merits, his honor, his integrity and his liberality justly demanded. He closed his address amidst prolonged and well deserved applause.

The roll call proceeded without farther response until Illinois was called, when Mr. George C. Christian took the platform. He presented the name of Hon. John P. St. John, and as that gentleman became the unanimous choice of the convention, we give in full the address of Mr. Christian, and also that of Miss Frances E. Willard, in support of the nomination.

MR. GEORGE C. CHRISTIAN.

Mr. Christian spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention.

By the courtesy of the Illinois delegation, I have the distinguished honor and pleasure to present to you the claims of one who needs no defense. [Applause.] In doing it I do not deem it necessary and I have not the inclination, if I did, to attack the character or motives of any other gentleman or his friends. [Applause.] Against the distinguished gentleman who has been named before you, I have not one word to say. I take no part in any attack covertly or openly which has been made upon him or his record. [Applause and cries of "That's right."] He is a gentleman in whose personal character as a noble minded man, I have the most robust faith. [Applause.] That he has been a friend of the friends of our cause no one will dispute. But I have a name to suggest to this convention, which in the judgment of the Illinois delegation is above every other name under the American flag; a name which will gather together and concentrate the forces of our independent political party movement better than that of any other man on this continent. [Applause.] He is a man who is known in every household of the land. [Applause.] He is a man whose record especially commends him to the consideration of this convention. Not only that, but I consider—and you must not be astonished now—I consider that the peculiar circumstances which surround this present campaign will call in a great degree for a peculiar kind of man to go before the public. I believe that we can get before the people the facts upon which we base our movement in a more successful manner by following the policy I shall now suggest, than in any other way. Not even the newspapers can do the work which I will intimate presently. In order to do that, we will violate what has been considered one of the proprieties of political life. Not only that: We will run counter to

the judgment of many, that in doing this our candidate will be in danger of getting himself and his party into trouble; but no man is ever in danger of getting himself and his party into trouble who stands on the rostrum before the people and speaks the truth every time he opens his mouth. [Applause.] And inasmuch as we have nothing else but the truth, I do not see why we should not put up men for president and vice president in this party who are not only able, but can command the attention of the people upon a public platform and discuss the question before the people. [Applause.] In that way we can get a hearing which we can get in no other way. You put the tallest private citizen in this party upon the public platform and send him from one end of the country to the other and the people wouldn't see him. You could not get a crowd to hear him. But put a man in nomination for president or vice president who of himself will command the attention of the people and they are ready to respond to his presence and listen to what he has to say. I have to name a gentleman who has seen war; who has lived upon the bloody plains of the far West; who has gone through conflict after conflict; who is the Father, substantially, of actual, practical, constitutional prohibition; a man whose whole soul and energies are entirely devoted to this cause; a man who I believe has a barrel, yet the bung has always been out helping somebody [laughter], and now he is not able to contribute very largely in a material way. But he can do better than that. He can add to the cause the influence of his moral force, his moral heroism, his distinguished leadership, to a degree greater than any man now named, or to be named before you, can ever hope to do. Not only that, but he is the friend and brother-in-law of the W. C. T. U. of the nation. The platform which we always have stood upon is one of right and justice. The platform which we are to nominate these candidates upon will be equally one of right and justice. It will be pre-eminently right. There is no difficulty about our platform of principles. There will be no difficulty about the consecration of the energies of the gentleman I shall suggest, and his heart and soul to this independent movement; none whatever, but that he will be found in our ranks at any time; four years from now; eight years from now; a thousand years from now, if he live that long. There is no trouble about our platform. Our foundation is firm. The monuments we have erected are not built upon sand nor the dust of ancestry, but are founded upon the intelligence and moral culture of the age, and will brighten with years as they point the advance guard of intellect, where they will stand amid change, changeless until the soul of truth shall desert the world, and climbing upward on a stair of stars, meet welcome where thunders find no echo, leaving behind the errors of the world to be swept away with a wing of flame and lost amid the smoke that wraps around the crumbling things of time. [Great applause.]

Then, fellow delegates, on behalf of the delegation of the state of Illinois, I have the honor to present for the office of president of the United States that distinguished patriot, that magnificent leader, that whole-souled hero, devoting his life to constitutional prohibition, the Hon. John P. St. John of Kansas.

[Great cheering and waving of hats and handkerchiefs, which lasted several minutes.]

MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD.

Miss Willard, in behalf of Kansas, and by request of the

Kansas delegation, seconded the nomination of Mr. St. John as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Brothers and Sisters in America's Great Battle for a Clear Brain:

The thing that has been shall be. History repeats itself. Thirty-three years ago, only eight years before the nomination of Abraham Lincoln under the increased impetus of the same movement, John P. Hale and Geo. W. Julian were chosen in this hall.

During their campaign a little girl, a farmer's daughter on the prairies of Wisconsin, sat up until unprecedentedly late at night to "hear the news from the Free Soil meeting" which her mother and brother had gone miles to attend, because Hale and Julian were to speak. She will never forget the eagerness with which she listened to that recital, but how little did she dream that in the interval between those days and these the world would grow so tolerant that old prejudices would roll away like clouds below the horizon, and women come forth into public work like singing birds after a thunder-storm! Least of all could she have imagined that a royal, free state like Kansas, by unanimous invitation of its delegation in the second great "Free Soil" gathering of Lafayette Hall, would accord to her the honor of seconding the nomination of Kansas' greatest leader. But so it was to be!

The heroes of America have been from the first and will be to the last, men of the people. The name of John P. St. John of Kansas has already passed into history. His is the rare and radiant fame that comes of being enshrined, while yet alive, in that most majestic of Pantheons, the people's heart. Our action here to-day will neither lift nor lower his position, for he is "Fortune's now and Fame's; one of the few, the immortal names that were not born to die." His history, half heroic, half pathetic, has always deeply touched my heart, and I rejoice to rehearse it briefly here to-day.

Brother and sister delegates, picture to yourselves a lonesome little fellow in the wilderness of Indiana fifty years ago, trying, single-handed to make his way in the world.

"Blessings on thee, little man,
Barefoot boy, with cheek of tan."

Picture this adventurous youth as, with but a dollar in his pocket, he crossed the "Big Muddy," bound for Pikes' Peak and, driving an ox-team over the Rockies, "footed it" to California. See him next delving in the mines by day and studying law by the camp-fire at evening. For

"The heights by great men reached and kept,
Were not attained by sudden flight;
But they, while their companions slept,
Were toiling upward in the night."

See him at the outbreak of the civil war, waiting for no draft, hiring no substitute, but baring his own breast to foemen who, thank God, to-day are friends! See him next in the senate of Kansas, then twice elected governor, keeping always near the people and trusting them in spite of a thousand warnings from political leaders. I saw him first at Bismarck Grove, Kansas, in presence of a great concourse, when the campaign for constitutional amendment was at its height. As he came forward, every man's hat and every woman's handkerchief waved high in air, and while the loud hurrahs resounded, I saw the tears on many a gentle face of mother, sister, wife, because they knew he was defender of their endangered homes.

They told me in Topeka, where he had lived for years, that he was always in his place at church and prayer-meeting, no matter how official duties pressed upon him. They told me how he went to Leavenworth when letters threatening his life warned him to stay away, and being met *en route* by a temperance delegation whose anxiety was so great they had come to protect him, he showed them the letters of which until that moment no one had been aware, saying: "Our cause must have its martyrs as well as heroes, and I might as well be ready."

It seems to me the world must have in every age the object-lesson of new lives dedicated to all that most exalts humanity, and here we have this one, which God has set up high, where all may read.

I never heard John P. St. John traduced save by the myrmidons of the saloon. The party that now reviles would have adored him had he been even a little less loyal to our cause. The senate's open door would have been just before him if he had not entered already. But now, forsooth, he is an office-seeker when he holds on high the standard for us who can give him nothing but our gratitude; when he lays his lofty fame a sacrifice upon the altar of our holy cause!

I yield to none in admiration of these glorious veterans, John Russell and Judge Black and Gideon T. Stewart. History will place their names beside those of Phillips and Garrison upon her roll of honor. They were the adventurous pioneers who struck out into a forest of prejudice and "blazed the trees," but to make our way across the Sierras of difficulty that still separate us from the Eldorado of success, we want a "Pathfinder" and we believe St. John to be the "Fremont" of our battles.

For Dr. R. H. McDonald I have the highest esteem; his lofty character and generous help command my admiration and my gratitude, but as between two noble men we must choose the one who, as a sun-glass, will focus the most votes, and I believe Gov. St. John to be that man.

Dear women of the white ribbon here assembled: You know that from all this land went up the voice of supplication when the call for prayer was made just before the first of these party conventions, in May last. We prayed that America might have a plank in some platform declaring for national Prohibition for the sake of home's protection, and a candidate whose character and personal habits mothers might safely commend to their sons. In Governor St. John we have an answer to that prayer. When I think of what he is to the temperance people of the Nation, I know that in ten thousand homes these words of England's laureate will strike responsive chords:

"As some divinely-gifted man,
Whose life in low estate began
And on a simple village green;

Who breaks his birth's invidious bar,
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
And breasts the blows of circumstance
And grapples with his evil star;

Who makes by worth his merits known,
And grasps the future's golden key,
To mold a mighty state's decree
And shape the whisper of a throne;

And, climbing on from high to higher,
Became on Fortune's crowning slope

The pillar of a people's hope,
The centre of our hearts' desire."

On behalf of the Kansas delegation I second the nomination of John P. St. John of Kansas."

One who was present, describing the scene at that time, says:

"It was easy to perceive how thoroughly the people appreciated her and her work. The hall was so still and quiet that no sound but her voice was distinguishable. Men stood gazing at her as if fascinated. Old men sat crying like children. Her deep earnestness struck a sympathetic chord in every heart. No artifice of word or manner marred her perfect delivery, and when she sat down, apparently every one in the hall arose at one time, and hundreds of throats made the air quiver with such loud and prolonged applause that it seemed as if it would never cease."

The next state to respond as the roll-call proceeded, was Maine. On behalf of that Pioneer Prohibition state, Mr. W. T. Eustis proposed the name of Hon. Gideon T. Stewart, of Ohio. It was most fitting that the name of this veteran hero in the war for Prohibition should have been presented by the first state that passed a prohibitory law. The address of Mr. Eustis and the name of Mr. Stewart were greeted with tumultuous applause.

Maryland supported St. John. Mr. Charles M. Nye, seconded the name of Dr. McDonald.

In the name of Massachusetts, A. A. Miner D. D., of Boston, supported the nomination of St. John. Doctor Miner spoke with great force and ability and was loudly cheered.

M. J. Fanning did the same in the name of Michigan.

W. W. Satterlee supported St. John on behalf of Minnesota.

When Missouri was reached, Mrs. Clara Hoffman arose, and in the name of the W. C. T. U. and the Prohibition party of that state, supported the nomination of St. John. Her address was one of the best delivered during the convention, and was intently listened to throughout.

Mr. S. B. Ransom, of New Jersey, named Gen. Clinton B. Fisk as the choice of that state, according to their first instructions, but said the delegation had reconsidered and directed him to second the nomination of St. John.

New York, with her seventy-five delegates and her many noble and prominent workers, claimed nothing for herself, but through her worthy representative, Prof. A. A. Hopkins, cordially and eloquently supported the nomination of St. John. The address of Prof. Hopkins was one of the finest tributes to the political life and work of the nominee that ever any candidate for office received, and emanating from the state and the man it did, was all the more enthusiastically received.

In his usual eloquent and effective manner, Mr. John B. Finch spoke for Nebraska, and when he said; "Nebraska—the sister state of Kansas, * * * * takes pleasure in standing by the

son of her sister state and seconding his nomination," the applause was deafening.

If there had been thrilling scenes during the convention, they reached a climax when the state of Ohio was called, and Hon. Gideon T. Stewart responded, withdrawing his own name and seconding the nomination of St. John. It was one of the most graceful occurrences in the history of conventions, and the tremendous applause which followed Mr. Stewart's address told how fully and cordially every one present, both members and visitors, appreciated it. It left a warm emotion toward Mr. Stewart in the heart of every man and woman who witnessed it.

I. Newton Pierce, Esq., spoke for the state of Pennsylvania, presenting the name of the tried and true veteran, the Honorable James Black, of Lancaster. Mr. Pierce was brief and to the point, and when he closed "three cheers for James Black" were called, and given with a will which spoke well for the estimation in which that revered name was held by the convention.

At this point Col. Babcock arose and withdrew the name of Dr. McDonald, saying that he was satisfied that if he were present Dr. McDonald would do the same thing, and would most heartily second the nomination of St. John. The official report of the convention says:

"Then there was great applause, the delegates jumping to their feet and mounting the chairs, while the air seemed literally alive with hats, handkerchiefs, fans, umbrellas, coats and everything portable within reach, while the delegates gave three cheers for McDonald, three cheers for Stewart, three cheers for St. John and three cheers for Col. Babcock."

Mr. Pierce followed, on behalf of the Pennsylvania delegation, withdrawing the name of Mr. Black and substituting that of St. John. Mr. Eustis did the same for Maine, withdrawing Mr. Stewart.

Mr. Finch moved to suspend the rules, in order that Mr. St. John might be nominated by acclamation. This was objected to by Mr. R. A. Brown, of Pennsylvania, who insisted that the Pennsylvania delegation had not consented to the withdrawal of Mr. Black, and who wished that the convention should remember and honor such men as Black, Russell and Stewart. Mr. Black and Mr. Russell, however, both came forward and cordially endorsed the nomination of St. John.

When Texas was called, Hon. E. L. Dohoney, the pioneer of prohibitory legislation in that state, supported the nomination of St. John.

Mr. Finch renewed his motion to suspend the rules so as to nominate Mr. St. John by acclamation, and, pending this motion, the convention took a recess until afternoon.

SECOND DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was opened with prayer by Rev. A. M. Richardson, of Kansas.

Telegrams were read from Rev. J. Y. Johnson, of Douglas camp ground, Massachusetts; Sam'l P. Goodwin, Philadelphia; the Grand Council M. of T., of Texas; W. Martin Johnson, Rochester, New York; Prohibition party convention, Lafayette Indiana, by Mrs. M. L. Wells; E. J. Morris, Cincinnati, and the Prohibitionists of Hornellsville, New York, by M. A. Tuttle.

By common consent, while Mr. Finch's motion was pending, which had been amended to proceed with the roll-call, Indiana, through Mr. Nichols, and Kentucky, through Mr. J. Mont Hunter, gave their endorsement to St. John.

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania moved to amend the motion before the house so as to defer the farther calling of the roll until after the adoption of the platform. Lost. Motion to proceed with roll-call carried.

The roll of states for the final vote was then called, with the following result. For John P. St. John.

Alabama	2	Massachusetts	28
Arkansas	13	Michigan	56
Arizona	1	Minnesota	20
California	23	Missouri	32
Connecticut	12	Nebraska	12
Dakota	2	New Hampshire	8
District Columbia	2	New Jersey	19
Georgia	2	New York	75
Illinois	45	Ohio	46
Indiana	2	Oregon	1
Kansas	18	Pennsylvania	58
Kentucky	18	Rhode Island	1
Louisiana	1	Tennessee	12
Maine	12	Texas	10
Maryland	16	Wisconsin	55
Total votes cast			602

CONVENTION WILD OVER ST. JOHN.

The chairman formally announced that 602 votes having been cast for Hon. John P. St. John for the nomination as President of the United States, it was his duty and pleasure to declare the result. To describe the manner in which this announcement was received would require a separate reference to each delegate. No attempt was made to keep down the confusion. To the uproar on the floor was added shouts from the stage and platform, and the strong voice of Chairman Dickie, which so successfully maintained order in the convention during its proceedings, was now used in adding to the general applause. For fully five minutes this boisterous exercise was kept up without diminution, either in volume or variety. After the delegates had howled themselves hoarse, Chairman Dickie arose and requested them to once more "inflate their lungs and send up a cheer that would lift the roof," and, although they did not succeed in raising the roof, they did their best.

During the uproar a huge portrait of St. John was elevated in the air, which renewed the tumult, which was varied by the convention singing "Glory Hallelujah" and the Doxology.

The chairman and secretary were instructed to send a telegram to St. John, informing him of his nomination, and attaching such names as they saw fit.

Chairman Dickie called for the report of the Committee on Resolutions, which was read by Judge James Black, and afterward revised and adopted as follows:

NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY PLATFORM.

FIRST.—The Prohibition party in National Convention assembled, acknowledge Almighty God as the rightful sovereign of all men, from whom the just powers of government are derived, and to whose laws human enactments should conform as an absolute condition of peace, prosperity and happiness.

SECOND.—That the importation, manufacture, supply and sale of alcoholic beverages, created and maintained by the laws of the national and state governments during the entire history of such laws, is everywhere shown to be the promoting cause of intemperance, with resulting crime and pauperism, making large demands upon public and private charity; imposing large and unjust taxation for the support of penal and sheltering institutions, upon thrift, industry, manufactures and commerce; endangering the public peace; desecrating the Sabbath; corrupting our politics, legislation and administration of the laws; shortening lives, impairing health and diminishing productive industry; causing education to be neglected and despised; nullifying the teachings of the Bible, the church and the school, the standards and guides of our fathers and their children in the founding and growth of our widely extended country; and which, imperiling the perpetuity of our civil and religious liberties, are baleful fruits by which we know that these laws are contrary to God's laws and contravene our happiness. We, therefore, call upon our fellow citizens to aid in the repeal of these laws and in the legal suppression of this baneful liquor traffic.

THIRD.—During the twenty-four years in which the republican party has controlled the general government and many of the states, no effort has been made to change this policy. Territories have been created, governments for them established, states admitted to the Union, and in no instance in either case has this traffic been forbidden, or the people been permitted to prohibit it; that there are now over 200,000 distilleries, breweries, wholesale and retail dealers in their products, holding certificates and claiming the authority of government for the continuation of the business so destructive to the moral and material welfare of the people, together with the fact that they have turned a deaf ear to remonstrance and petition for the correction of this abuse of civil government, is conclusive that the republican party is insensible to, or impotent for, the redress of these wrongs, and should no longer be entrusted with the powers and responsibilities of government; that, although this party, in its late National Convention was silent on the liquor question, not so its candidates, Messrs. Blaine and Logan. Within the year past Mr. Blaine has recommended that the revenue derived from the liquor traffic be distributed among the states; and Senator Logan has by bill, proposed to devote these revenues to the support of the public schools. Thus, both virtually recommend the perpetuation of the traffic, and that the states and their citizens become partners in the liquor crime.

FOURTH.—That the democratic party has in its National deliverances of party policy arrayed itself on the side of the drinkers and sellers by declaring against the policy of Prohibition

under the false name of "sumptuary laws;" that when in power in any of the states it has refused remedial legislation; and that in congress it has obstructed the creation of a commission of inquiry into the effects of this traffic, proving that it should not be entrusted with power and place.

FIFTH.—That there can be no greater peril to the Nation than the existing competition of the republican and democratic parties for the liquor vote. Experience shows that any party not openly opposed to the traffic will engage in this competition; will court the favor of the criminal classes; will barter the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every trust and object of good government for party success. Patriots and good citizens should, therefore, immediately withdraw from all connection with these parties.

SIXTH.—That we favor reforms in the abolition of all sinecures with useless offices and officers, and in elections by the people instead of appointments by the president; that as competency, honesty and sobriety are essential qualifications for office, we oppose removals except when absolutely necessary to secure effectiveness in vital issues; that the collection of revenues from alcoholic liquor and tobacco should be abolished, since the vices of men are not proper subjects of taxation; that revenue from custom duties should be levied for the support of the government economically administered, and in such manner as will foster American industries and labor; that the public lands should be held for homes for the people, and not bestowed as gifts to corporations, or sold in large tracts for speculation upon the needs of actual settlers; that grateful care and support should be given to our soldiers and sailors disabled in the service of their country, and to their dependent widows and orphans; that we repudiate as un-American and contrary to and subversive of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, that any persons or people should be excluded from residence or citizenship who may desire the benefits which our institutions confer upon the oppressed of all nations; that while these are important reforms and are demanded for purity of administration and the welfare of the people, their importance sinks into insignificance when compared with the drink traffic, which now annually wastes \$800,000,000 of the wealth created by toil and thrift, dragging down thousands of families from comfort to poverty, filling jails, penitentiaries, insane asylums, hospitals and institutions for dependency, impairing the health and destroying the lives of thousands, lowering intellectual vigor, and dulling the cunning hand of the artisan, causing bankruptcy, insolvency and loss in trade, and by its corrupting power endangering the perpetuity of free institutions; that congress should exercise its undaunted power by prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages in the District of Columbia, the territories of the United States, and all places over which the government has exclusive jurisdiction; that hereafter no state should be admitted to the Union until its constitution shall expressly and forever prohibit polygamy and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages, and that congress shall submit to the states an amendment to the constitution forever prohibiting the importation, exportation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks.

SEVENTH.—We earnestly call the attention of the mechanic, the miner and manufacturer to the investigation of the baneful effects upon labor and industry of the needless liquor business. It will be found the robber who lessens wages and profits, fomenting discontent and strikes, and the destroyer of family welfare. Labor and all legitimate industries demand deliverance from the taxation and loss

which this traffic imposes; and no tariff or other legislation can so healthily stimulate production, or increase the demand for capital and labor, or insure so much of comfort and content to the laborer, mechanic and capitalist, as would the suppression of this traffic.

EIGHTH.—That the activity and co-operation of the women of America for the promotion of temperance has, in all the history of the past, been a strength and encouragement which we gratefully acknowledge and record. In the later and present phase of the movement for the prohibition of the traffic, the purity of purpose and method, the earnestness, zeal, intelligence and devotion of the mothers and daughters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union have been eminently blessed of God. Kansas and Iowa have been given them as "sheaves" of rejoicing, and the education and the arousing of the public mind, and the now prevailing demand for the Constitutional Amendment are largely the fruit of their prayers and labors. Sharing in the efforts that shall bring the question of the abolition of this traffic to the polls, they shall join in the grand "Praise God from whom all blessings flow," when by law victory shall be achieved.

NINTH.—That believing in the civil and political equality of the sexes, and that the ballot in the hands of woman is her right for protection, and would prove a powerful ally for the abolition of the liquor traffic, the execution of law, the promotion of reform in civil affairs, and the removal of corruption in public life, we enunciate the principle and relegate the practical outworking of this reform to the discretion of the Prohibition party in the several states according to the condition of public sentiment in those states.

TENTH.—That we gratefully acknowledge the presence of the Divine Spirit guiding the counsels and granting the success which has been vouchsafed in the progress of the temperance reform, and we earnestly ask the voters of these United States to make the principles of the above declaration dominant in the Government of the Nation.

Col. Babcock read the following dispatch:

NEW YORK, July 24th.

Col. Geo. Babcock;—Please present my hearty congratulations to the convention on the wisdom shown in the selection of Gov. John P. St. John as the candidate for President of the United States, and assure it, and him, of my most cordial support.

R. H. McDONALD.

Mrs. M. McClellan Brown, chairman of the meeting of Woman Delegates which had been held, pursuant to call, at the parlors of the St. Charles Hotel, presented the resolutions of that body, which were read and adopted by the convention, without the usual reference to the committee on resolutions.

CHANGE OF PARTY NAME.

A. A. Miner, of Boston, introduced the subject of a change in the party name from Prohibition Home Protection Party to the Prohibition Party, and moved that the proposed change be made. Some little discussion ensued, but when Doctor Miner's motion was brought before the convention for final action it was carried by a large majority and the name "Prohibition Party" was adopted.

The convention then adjourned until 8 o'clock P. M.

SECOND DAY—EVENING.

The final session of the convention was opened with prayer by Rev. A. J. Jutkins, of Chicago, closing with the Lord's prayer, in which the convention audibly joined.

The Finance Committee, through its chairman Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, reported, recommending the "Pioneer Battle Fund" system of raising money, which was explained in detail by Geo. C. Christian, of Illinois. At the close of Mr. Christian's remarks he called for subscriptions and pledges were given to the amount of \$3,970.00. It is but fair to state, in this connection, that only about \$1,500.00 of this amount was paid in during the campaign.

On motion of Mr. Sutton, of Wisconsin the roll of states was called for the

NOMINATION OF A CANDIDATE FOR VICE
PRESIDENT.

There was no response until Connecticut was called, when Mrs. C. B. Buell, in a brief and pointed speech presented the name of Mr. George P. Rogers of that state.

Georgia was the next state to respond. Mrs. Laurence Lord introduced Mrs. Minnie Mosher Jackson, who spoke for Georgia, and also as the Child of the Regiment of the Maryland State Temperance alliance, nominating Hon. Wm. Daniel, the little giant of Maryland. At the announcement of his name the delegates rose to their feet and joined in a prolonged and universal cheer.

Col. Babcock seconded the nomination in the name of California; M. Van B. Bennett did the same in behalf of Kansas; J. Mont Hunter for Kentucky; Mr. Edwin Higgins for Maryland and Mr. Samuel R. McCready for Massachusetts. All these gentlemen paid fine tributes to the man of their choice, and each was received with applause.

On behalf of Michigan Mr. James Hamilton, of that state, named as its choice Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey. Minnesota and Missouri followed for Daniel. Mr. S. B. Ransom, of New Jersey, made an eloquent appeal in behalf of the nomination of General Fisk, which was received with great applause.

New York reported the delegation from that state about equally divided between Daniel, Fisk and Geo. W. Bain, Mr. Robert Bocock placing the latter in nomination. Ohio endorsed Mr. Daniel. Mr. E. M. Lester reported Pennsylvania as standing 34 for Fisk, 25 for Daniel. Rev. Sam'l Young, of Pennsylvania presented the name of Frances E. Willard. Tennessee, through Mr. R. L. Hayes, supported Col. Bain. E. L. Dohoney, of Texas, named Mr. Daniel as the favorite of that state, and Mr. W. S. Gardiner followed in the same strain for West Virginia. Wisconsin intended to present the name of Hon. Samuel D. Hastings of that state, but, at Mr. Hastings' own request, withheld his name and seconded Mr. Daniel's nomination,

At this point the tide began to set in a single direction. Mr. Finch stated that Col. Bain had assured him that under no circumstances would he accept a place on the ticket. Mrs. Buell withdrew the name of Mr. George P. Rogers and said Connecticut would support Mr. Daniel. Judge Wm. Groo, of New York, announced the delegation from that state finally unanimous for Daniel.

GEN. CLINTON B. FISK SPEAKS.

At this stage of the proceedings, Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, who, up to this time, had kept himself very much in the background, came forward and made one of the neatest and most telling speeches of the convention. His remarks are given in full, and as taken by the official stenographer, were as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen:—This is the most singular convention I ever saw. You persist in doing things you ought not to do, because you will, some of you; and you do not do things that you ought to do, because you won't. [Laughter.] Now, I attribute it all to the introduction of ladies into this convention. They so impress you from the platform that you have come into the condition, that "when you will you will, you may depend on it; and when you won't you won't and that's the end on it." [Laughter.] I stand here simply to speak a word or two of explanation. I came to Pittsburgh in the ranks with the New Jersey delegation, simply as a private soldier with them, to do what I could to promote the work of this great convention. I haven't said much in the convention, because I found by looking in the papers that I was having some difficulty in working up my canvass. [Laughter.] They said "Gen. Fisk is represented as a high license man, and, therefore, he has met with serious trouble. They are talking about him in the convention and his room is crowded with people asking what it means." Now, the only knowledge I have had of it is from the newspapers; but as they are always correct, there is no doubt of it. [Laughter.] I may say at no time have I consented to be a candidate upon your ticket. I have told everybody I would not accept the nomination. I presume there are twenty delegates on this floor who have my letters in their pockets written during the last three months, saying I could not and I would not; saying that I believed those who had been long active in this work would be the men honored by this great convention, and that I would be among those most happy to honor such men. Well, I have received, I think, in all about twelve hundred letters. Now, there were twelve hundred people who thought I was not for high license. Amongst the most touching things which have come to me was a memorial signed by more than two thousand colored men asking me to be their candidate at this convention [applause,] and I came here and found myself about the only colored man in the convention. [Laughter.] I was once in London, and saw by the evening paper that the jubilee singers were to sing at the old university town of Cambridge that evening. I said, "I will go down and hear them." I had been on the continent two months. So, I hastened to the station and bought a reserved ticket and went to the concert and got in out of sight; but when they got to the place where one of them came to make his speech, he arose to his feet, and thought he saw me. They made something of a rumpus about 'it, and I was called to the platform. I came up on to the platform to make a little bit of a speech, and a lady sitting over there said, "Why, he

is almost as white as we are." [Laughter.] She thought, of course, I must be a black man.

Now, this has been one of the most good natured conventions I ever saw; because here are so many men with their own way of thinking, to say nothing of the women folks, with their way of thinking. As I came away a gentleman said, "Are you going to the Pittsburgh convention?" I said, "I am." Said he, "Don't you know they are cranks?" I said, "I guess you will find they are by and bye, when their party is turning yours into its grave." [Laughter and applause.] Now you have been very kind to each other, notwithstanding all these sharp thoughts and antagonisms. I looked out from this platform and saw these surging elements, which were, however, all one way on one thing, and it made me think a little of the colored preacher in my old city of St. Louis. I went in to hear him on St. Charles street once and he was preaching on "Charity." There was a row in the church. He said there was always two parties to every quarrel and two sides to every question, and that we must be charitable one toward another. He said, "Now in the old times in Missouri there were the slaveryites and the anti-slaveryites. The slaveryites believed in slavery, and anti-slaveryites didn't believe in it. And then there were the Bentonites and the anti-Bentonites. The Bentonites believed in old Tom Benton and the anti-Bentonites didn't believe in him." Said he, "It has been so from the beginning of the world." Said he, "It was especially so in the days of Noah, for then there were the Diluvians and anti-Diluvians." [Great laughter.] He said, "The Diluvians believed in the flood, and the anti-Diluvians didn't believe in it." Now then, we are all Diluvians. We believe in the flood which is coming, which will wash this great wrong into its grave. [Applause.]

Now, let us go home. Let the agitation be kept up in conference and convention, in church and caucus, in the pulpit and the pew, [Cries of "Amen!"] from the press and the platform, in the prayer meeting and at the ballot box, until this great traffic shall be entirely destroyed and shall cease to be a factor in American politics. I wish to say that I let this sort of nominating myself go on so that I might explain myself a little. I am not insensible to the honor my old state would confer on me. But I do not want any nomination. I want you to let me stand in the ranks, by your side, and work with you, as work I will, [applause] until victory shall rest upon our banners, sooner or later. Supposing it should be later? [A voice "But it will come."] There is no reason why we should not look for it. That is the faith which brings victory to every good cause, and victory is coming to this, just as sure as can be, marching on as resistless as the tide whose each succeeding white fringed billow washes up the sand, until we are wearied watching wave on wave. It is weary work; and still it is not such a weary business, when you see the waves washing up the sand. The wave will come, just as sure as to-morrow comes; and where the vanguard camps to-day remember the rear will pitch their tent on the morrow. [Great applause.]

Now then, I simply came here to say that I am not a candidate; that you must not cast any ballots for me. If I might direct your ballot, (and I don't know as that would be the proper thing for me to do,) I would say confidentially to all you gentlemen who have not fully made up your minds, "If I were in your place I would vote for brother Daniel." [Applause.] I have known him all these years. I have watched him in his progress in the way of

truth and righteousness and justice. He is a courageous man. There is a good deal in what you say about the north and south. They often tell me I am more of the south than of the north, and I rather think I am sometimes, because there are enough people talking for the north all the while. The south are my brethren. [Applause.] The best service I ever rendered was at the close of the war. Lincoln insisted I should spend two years in that country in charge of two and one-half millions of black people, with all the white people intermixed, restoring good fellowship and industry and sweeping out the school houses and churches and burying the bayonet and putting the judge in the court house to decide what should be done. We want to go on with that good work until all through this great land, from the silvery lakes on the north to the turbid gulf on the south, from the Atlantic to the Pacific there shall be but one song.

"The Lord of the universe shield and guide us;
Trusting thee always through shadow and sun;
Thou hast United us, who shall divide us?
Keep us, oh keep us, the many in one."

"Then up with our banner, bright sprinkled with starry light:
Spread its fair emblems from mountain to shore,
While through the sunny-sky, loud rings the nations' cry,
"Union and liberty, one evermore."

[Applause.]

Now, let us go out with this spirit, determined to do what we can to bind together these once separated sections. We have got to do it through this party. We are the only national party to-day. By and bye, we will spread all over this nation. We will be the party. We will walk in the funeral procession of all other parties. We will shut up every saloon in America. [Applause.] And that you may understand me when I lift up this hand, let me say I have always been against license. High license or low license, it is a mighty low business to license at all. High license is wrong if licensing is right, because that is a monopoly which keeps us poor fellows out of the business. My circular letter resulted in killing the Roosevelt bill, for which thank God. It killed the Roosevelt high license bill. How, I am not permitted to tell you. Now, I can express no better wish than that we all go to our homes with the same spirit which has governed this convention, full of faith and work, determined in the not distant future the Prohibition party shall be triumphant in this country. The gloom is passing away. As we turn our thoughts backward, we think of the thousands of people—the millions of people killed by rum. We turn with joy and thanksgiving to the light which is coming from the east. And though our hearts brood o'er the past, our eyes at the smiling future glisten; for lo! our deeds shall burst the clouds of the sky-to-morrow, and the sun will be shining all over this land, making it bright where darkness now is. This evil shall not always continue. Let you and me, my brother, buckle on the harness, and stay in the harness until we die, whether victory comes or not. But there will be victory. It is coming; may be just beyond us. Let us work with faith, remembering that the blessing of God is upon this party, for He is our great leader. This movement, born in prayer and song, shall go on until it shall fill all this blessed land. God hasten the day. [Cries of "Amen!" and great applause, which ended with three rousing cheers for the speaker, General Fisk.]

MR. DANIEL NOMINATED BY ACCLAMATION.

On motion of Mr. John Nate, of Illinois, the rules were suspended.

ed, and upon motion of Judge Groo, of New York, Hon. Wm. Daniel was given the nomination by a rising vote, a scene ensuing which very much resembled that which followed the nomination of Mr. St. John. Mr. Daniel was called to the front, and responded with a few words of earnest thanks.

A committee of ten, with the chairman of the convention as chairman of said committee, was appointed to formally notify the nominees.

On motion of E. W. Chapin, of Wisconsin, the basis of representation at the next National convention was referred to the National committee.

After some unimportant routine work, including the passage of resolutions of thanks to the officers of the convention, to the hotels of the city for the use of parlors, to the press, to the local committee at Pittsburgh, and to the W. C. T. U. a closing prayer was made by Gen. Fisk, the convention joined in singing the doxology, Rev. A. J. Jutkins pronounced the benediction, and thus closed one of the most memorable conventions known in the political history of this nation.

Notwithstanding the unanimous and hearty nomination of Mr. St. John there was a doubt whether he would accept. Several of his friends were sure he would, simply because he had never yet failed to respond to a call of duty. But no one was authorized to say so. It was not until noon of the day after the convention adjourned, that a dispatch was received which removed all uncertainty.

THE CAMPAIGN.

It is not easy to give the exact date of the opening of the campaign. While the convention was in progress in Pittsburgh, Mr. St. John was traveling the "St. John circuit," a series of camp meetings planned and conducted by Rev. Jno. A. Copeland in the state of N. Y. This series of meetings had been growing through several years. Mr. St. John had been one of the most constant and desirable lecturers, and thus his name was given to the "circuit." It consisted of a number of camp meetings so timed and placed with respect to each other, that lecturers could be moved from one to another every day. Mr. St. John was under contract to Mr. Copeland until Sept. 1st, and thus the entire month of August was spent in New York. There were "temperance meetings" addressed by the active leading lecturers, and as these were Prohibitionists and believers in the Prohibition party, the discussion drifted in that direction. Before Mr. St. John was at liberty to do anything in the campaign proper, and before the Executive Committee had planned for it, there was a spontaneous discussion of the questions involved, going on in various parts of the country.

On the 25th of August, at Cuba, N. Y., Prof. Samuel Dickle

and the Committee appointed at Pittsburgh formally notified Messrs. St. John and Daniel of their nomination. On the 3d of September the Executive Committee met in session at Lake Bluff, Ill. Messrs. St. John and Daniel were present. A full and frank discussion of the situation took place, and plans were laid reaching to the election. In view of subsequent events it is appropriate to insert here so much of the action of this meeting as will indicate what Mr. St. John was expected to do, and when and where he was to do it. These simple facts, given in the letter below, are a complete and triumphant answer to the slanderous fictions dilligently circulated after the election to prove that Mr. St. John was false to his party and made, or sought to make corrupt bargains with other parties. This effort to lie Mr. St. John down, as Schuyler Colfax was lied down, has been most malicious and persistent. The facts show that he was expected to do a certain work, and that no material change was made from the program adopted Sept. 3d, at Lake Bluff. To prove this beyond cavil we insert in full a circular letter issued and printed about Sept. 11th, in *The Lever*, New York Weekly Witness, Delaware Signal and several other Prohibition journals.

ROOM 36, 87 WASHINGTON ST., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR:—The executive committee had a meeting Sept. 3d, at which the campaign in general and in particular, was carefully discussed by the committee and the candidates Messrs. St. John and Daniel. Their decisions were reached in the light of extensive correspondence and observation, and I send the result of their decision to guide the action of all parties interested.

Both the candidates propose to enter the field in the interest of the party, and the only question was, how their time and strength could be utilized to the best advantage. It was recognized as an unwise policy to undertake a campaign which would involve travel by night and speaking by day to any considerable extent. The committee prefer that a few meetings at certain points should be held with the speakers at their best, rather than to undertake too many meetings with jaded speakers. In accordance with this general idea, Mr. St. John's appointments were fixed as follows: Olathe, Kansas, Sept. 6; Pleasant Hill, Missouri, Sept. 11th; Madison, Wis., Sept. 17th; Chicago, Ill., Sept. 18th; Sullivan, Ind., Oct. 1st; Indianapolis, Ind., Oct. 2d; State of Ohio, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th; Michigan, 7th, 8th and 9th; Philadelphia, Pa., 11th; Baltimore, Md., 13th; New York City, N. Y., 14th; Brooklyn, N. Y., 15th; Boston, Mass., 16th; Newark, N. J., 18th; Silver Lake, N. Y., 21st; Rochester, N. Y., 22d; Ashtabula, O., 24th; Ft. Wayne, Ind., 25th; Marion, Ind., 27th.

Gov. St. John gives these twenty four addresses as a contribution to the party, and cannot undertake anything more. It will be useless to write him for other appointments, as the limits of strength utterly forbid.

Mr. Daniel also gives his whole time and strength to the campaign. His appointments have been fully made by himself, embracing work in New England, and in the southern states, principally in his own state.

The committee realize the importance of many points which are not embraced in their plans; but a full consultation with the candidates, resulted in the plan of campaign outlined above.

The central committee, in the states where some work is to be done by the candidates (places not designated) will make the appointments and arrangements for the meetings. It is expected that wherever these meetings are held, three things will be done: First, careful preparation upon a large scale, for the attendance of representative people, from the adjacent towns. Second, that the 'Pioneer Battle Fund' be presented to the people and its claims urged upon their attention. Third, that a contribution to the fund of the national committee, amounting to at least \$50 should be forwarded to the treasurer.

The central committees of the various states will now be able to know what they can depend upon from our candidates. Many excellent speakers are accessible, and can be secured by the central committees if promptly written.

Yours &c.,

A. J. JUTKINS, Cor. Sec.

These were not absolute appointments, but a notification to the people of the cities named, that Mr. St. John could speak at the times and places indicated, provided suitable arrangements were made. It was intended also to protect Mr. St. John against the importunities which beset him, and to utilize his work to the best advantage. It was evident in August and September that great numbers of honest conscientious people were regarding Mr. St. John's candidacy with great favor. Their spontaneous impulse was to fall in line with the Prohibition party, and the enthusiastic friends had high hopes of a campaign which should parallel that of Fremont in 1856. The demand for him to speak was wide-spread and urgent, but the Executive Committee kept his appointments in their own hands. No changes were made except by the Committee. For example the appointments made for New York City and vicinity were changed in date, and an extra appointment interpolated in Connecticut because the hall desired for the meeting in N. Y., could not be secured on the 14th, but could on the 17th. Equally good reasons changed the appointment at Rochester to Utica and added other appointments in New York, and necessarily changed the time of meetings indicated for Fort Wayne and Marion, Indiana, where arrangements had been made for meetings, but no notice had been given the Committee. One meeting which had been arranged by the local committee was not held, that at Marion, Indiana. The Fort Wayne meeting was held at a later date than that indicated in the scheme published Sept. 11th. The meetings actually addressed by Mr. St. John were as follows, viz: Chicago, Ill., Sept. 18th; Sullivan, Ind., Oct. 1st; Indianapolis, Ind., Oct. 2d; Springfield, Ohio, Oct. 3d; Delaware, Ohio, Oct. 4th; Akron, Ohio, Oct. 5th; Oberlin, Ohio, Oct. 6; Adrian and Detroit, Mich., Oct. 7th; Kalamazoo, Mich., Oct. 8th, Flint, Mich., Oct. 9th; Philadelphia —

Pa., Oct. 11th; Baltimore, Md., Oct. 13th; Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 14th; Middletown, Conn., Oct. 15th; Worcester, Mass., Oct. 16th; New York City, Oct. 17th; Newark, N. J., Oct. 18th; Utica, N. Y., Oct. 22d; Gloversville, N. Y., Oct. 23d; Buffalo, N. Y., Oct. 24th; Elmira, N. Y., Oct. 25th; Binghamton, N. Y., Oct. 27th; Syracuse, N. Y. Oct. 28th; Auburn, N. Y., Oct. 29th; Batavia, N. Y., Oct. 30th; Fort Wayne, Ind., Oct. 31st. Silver Lake N. Y. Oct. 21.

A comparison of the scheme published Sept. 11th, and that wrought out in October will show how completely the plans made by the Committee were carried out; that no material changes were made for any reasons. The immense efforts made to stampede the Prohibition vote everywhere and in New York especially, made extra efforts necessary, and even then it fell off in that state nearly 3,000 from the vote of 1882.

The parties who are making such desperate efforts to convict Mr. St. John of something which may discredit him before the American people, will do well to ponder the above facts. The *Chicago Times* is of opinion that "he will be proved corrupt just as soon as a forger can be found sufficiently skillful to accomplish the task." He will also be required to explain the strict adherence in time and place to the plans of the Committee made and published in the beginning of the campaign. Mr. St. John and his Committee were in the field to get all the votes possible from any and every state without the least anxiety as to the effect it was going to have on Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Blaine.

The plans of the Executive Committee contemplated as the main purpose the awakening of the people. In their view the American people were asleep. Some had a vague sense that the saloon was not exactly the institution to be encouraged, and would embrace any convenient opportunity to hear Gough or Bain or Miss Willard. These fancied they were "temperance people;" they did not drink. Others were willing to help in temperance revivals, tie on ribbons, and sing, and even pay in the collection. Were they not as good temperance men as any? To be sure they forgot all about it when election came round, and voted for the license mayor and aldermen if nominated by "the party." Ministers would occasionally preach a sermon on "Intemperance." But outside of a few "fanatics" the masses were almost totally indifferent. Some dreamy mutterings might be heard, some fitful efforts "to do something" noticed, but for genuine interest, careful study, conscientious planning, vigorous effort commensurate with the magnitude of the task you might look in vain. A few women, and here and there a man, out of the fifty millions, acted with something of the intelligent system and vehement purpose of a fireman rousing the inmates of a burning house, and exerting himself to avert catastrophe, and stop a conflagration. But they were regarded as

conscientious lunatics, ' or as tronblesome bores by the great mass of the people, who yet with strange contradiction, were willing to vote for the most extreme measures so long as they represented mere theories. When the time for action came, and real work had to be done, blows taken as well as given, the army of temperance men dwindled in numbers like that of Gideon.

This was regarded as the result of want of conviction, which in turn was the result of ignorance. The National Temperance Publication House could not sell enough of its many publications to pay its way. The religious papers had from a quarter of a column to a column on the subject, unless when a discussion was in progress to prove that Jesus was a wine drinker, then there would be more. Intelligent men, teachers and writers vended absurd crudities as temperance wisdom. Secular papers as a rule were anti-prohibition and applauded the religious journals which had no favor for "hurricane reforms." After all the years of effort the quantity of liquors consumed steadily and rapidly increased. With these facts before them, and many more of similar significance, the Pittsburgh convention composed as it was of men and women who for twenty-five years had been to the temperance reform what the locomotive is to the train, determined to make the presidential campaign one of awakening. Mr. Stewart urged this as one the main points to be observed. Mr. Christian in nominating Mr. St. John had this in view, and the same is shown in the letters of acceptance of the candidates, the writings and addresses of prominent men interested in the work and in the spirit which characterized the entire campaign.

Mr. St. John's letter of acceptance was issued on September 6th, and was as follows:

EX-GOVERNOR ST. JOHN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

OLATHE, KAS., Sept. 26th, 1884.

Hon Samuel Dickie, Chairman of Committee, etc.

My Dear Sir:—In formally accepting the nomination for president, tendered to me by the National Prohibition Convention at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, July the 23d, 1884, I take the opportunity to state that while the honor was neither sought nor desired by me, yet it is greatly appreciated, bestowed as it was, by a convention composed of delegates who, in point of moral worth and mental ability, were fully equal, if not superior to any political convention that ever assembled in this country. The war for the Union is over, the rebellion has been crushed; African slavery abolished; old issues have passed away, and with them should go old prejudices and sectional strife. To-day the products of the North and the South float in friendly relations in the same channels, under the same flag, every section of our country acknowledging allegiance to the same government. There never was a time when our people could better afford to, and when it was more important that they should stop and think, than now. With manufactories shutting down, banks breaking, merchants falling in business, se-

curities unsettled, western wheat selling at the home market for forty cents per bushel, and hundreds of thousands of industrious mechanics and laboring men, who are willing to work, but can get nothing to do, it seems to me that the time has come for the people, who are the source of all political power, to call a halt, and stop and think, for there must be a reason for this condition of things. The little time and space the old parties can spare after dealing out the full measure of personal abuse and vilification, that each seems to think the other merits, is mainly devoted to a discussion of the tariff question, ignoring all matters that relate to the moral elevation of the people. I am of the opinion that the manufacturer who, by reason of the depressed condition of business, has been compelled to make an assignment for the benefit of his creditors, will not find relief in the agitation of that question now, nor will the average farmer become very enthusiastic over its discussion, with his wheat not worth as much in the bin as it cost him to produce it.

The amount received by the government for duties on imports is less than \$200,000,000 annually.

There are about one hundred and seventy-five thousand retail dealers in intoxicating liquors in the United States, each of whom pays to our government twenty-five dollars, in consideration of which sum, they are permitted to carry on their business for the term of twelve months. When we add to this the amount paid by the distillers, brewers and wholesale dealers, we find that the interest of the government in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors is about \$80,000,000 annually.

This traffic, sanctioned as it is by the laws of our country, costs the people, at a low estimate, a thousand million dollars a year, not to speak of the destroyed homes, debauched manhood, poverty, heartache, crime and corruption it produces.

This disgraceful business should be suppressed, and the enormous sum of money that under the present system is worse than thrown away, saved to the people, and thus a protection would be given to the industries of this country that would enable us successfully to throw our doors open wide to the competition of the world.

The republican and democratic parties favor a continuance of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, while the Prohibition party demands that the same shall be forever suppressed. Thus an issue is presented to the people in which is involved the protection of every home in the land. It is not a mere local issue either, but it is a national, as well as practical question, upon which a large and respectable body of citizens—against whose convictions party discipline is powerless—have decided to vote and they will not be found halting between two opinions touching this matter, but will work and pray and vote, against this great evil until it is driven from our land, *never* to return.

The government is simply the reflex of the individuals composing it. If we want an honest, sober government, we must have an honest, sober people. But we can never have an honest, sober people so long as the government sanctions that which makes its citizens dishonest, drunken and corrupt.

The declaration of principles, which I heartily endorse, as set forth in the platform of the Prohibition party, is entitled to the thoughtful consideration, and earnest support of all good citizens, without regard to locality or former political affiliation. Our country needs an administration that will rise above mere partisan considerations, and in the selection of public officials, make honesty

sobriety, and efficiency, and not service to party, the test. It should be conducted, not in the interest of any particular section, party, race or color, but in the interest of the whole people. To accomplish this, all good citizens should promptly step to the front and be counted for the right. This is no time for dodging. Moral cowardice will never win, and surely never deserves a victory.

Then let us look to God for his guidance, and fearlessly and faithfully do our whole duty, never doubting that he will take care of the results.

Very truly your friend,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

Mr. Daniel's letter, which followed on the sixth of October, was a careful resume of the issues, and was couched in the following earnest terms:

HON. WILLIAM DANIEL'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

BALTIMORE, Md., Oct. 6, 1884.

The Hon. Samuel Dickie, Chairman of the Committee, etc.

My Dear Sir:—Duly appreciating the honor of being nominated by the Prohibition party as their candidate for vice president of the United States, and having felt it my duty to accept the responsible position, as you were duly informed, upon being formally notified of the same, I propose herein to assign some reasons for the necessity of a Prohibition party and its claims for support.

THE BASIS OF PROHIBITION.

The necessity for the Prohibition of the liquor traffic is based upon the well established and conceded facts that this traffic is the producing cause of a large part of all the crime, poverty, insanity, suicides and diseases that exist in the land; that it is the great disturber of the public peace, as well as the destroyer of domestic peace and happiness; that it renders life, liberty and property insecure, and imposes upon the community heavy burdens of taxation without equivalent or consent. Upon the ground of its legitimate tendency being to produce "idleness, vice and debauchery," and to create nuisances, the supreme court of the United States and the highest courts of the states have decided that laws entirely prohibiting it are constitutional; that "idleness, vice, and debauchery" being cancers on the body politic, endangering its very life, there must of necessity be inherent power in it to remove them, in order to prevent its own destruction. In such decisions these highest courts have also held that these laws are for the protection of society, and not for the regulation or control of the conduct of the individual, and hence in no sense partaking of the character of "sumptuary laws," as they are so often falsely and knowingly styled by the liquor leagues and politicians of one of the great political parties; and that neither are they restrictive of "personal liberty," except in so far as they restrain the individual from inflicting injury upon others or upon society. In all such cases the public safety must be the supreme law.

THE GROWTH AND EXTENT OF PROHIBITORY LAW.

The prohibitory sentiment which culminated in the enactment of the Maine liquor law in 1851, and which caused prohibitory and option laws to be enacted in some fourteen or more states in the few years succeeding, was almost entirely crushed out by the absorption of the public mind with the slavery agitation for about a period of four years before the war, during, and for a like period subsequent thereto. Faint signs of reaction began to manifest

themselves about 1869 or 1870, but very little vitality was exhibited until that wonderful and powerful organization, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, so suddenly sprang into being, originating in the crusades in 1873, and which not only thoroughly aroused and infused new life and energy into this prohibitory reform, but inspired and called into existence other reforms, and has permeated the whole christian church with its quickening and vitalizing influence.

Since then this prohibitory sentiment has greatly increased, until now we find it has incorporated itself in the statutes of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Iowa, and in the constitution as well as in the statutes of Kansas. It has also imprinted itself upon the laws of a number of counties and localities in other states, north and west, while its growth in the south, or what were originally the slave-holding states, has even been greater. In Maryland, for instance, prohibitory laws prevail in some thirteen out of its twenty-three counties, and in a number of localities in others; in South Carolina in nearly all the rural districts outside of incorporated towns and cities; in Georgia, in some ninety or more counties out of about a hundred and thirty-seven, besides in the neighborhood of churches and schools in other counties, in Alabama, in ten or fifteen counties and numerous other districts; in Mississippi, in large districts, and in Louisiana in many parishes; in Arkansas, in large sections, and in Texas several counties, while in Tennessee, by reason of a law which prohibits grog-shops within four miles of a school-house or church, nearly or quite half of the state is under Prohibition. Also in Missouri some thirty counties are prohibitory, and in Kentucky some twenty-seven, with about every other county in the state permeated with Prohibition. Moreover, this sentiment was strong enough in Iowa to give a majority of nearly 30,000 for a prohibitory constitutional amendment some two years ago, despite the determined efforts of the liquor leagues in opposition. In Ohio about a year ago it was sufficient to cast over 323,000 votes for a similar constitutional amendment, which were counted, and some 40,000 or more which were not counted or fraudulently counted out, the total of which would have carried it. And this result, too, in the face of the opposition of both the republican and democratic parties; hampered as it was by coupling it with a license amendment to be voted on at the same time, and the enactment of what is known as the Scott tax law. And in Maine very recently, a majority of some 44,283 has been obtained for a similar amendment, and this after a trial of thirty-three years of statutory Prohibition.

The people in some fifteen other states have within the last year or two besieged their respective legislatures with petitions for the purpose of alike deciding for themselves the question of constitutional Prohibition, but have been refused. Had their prayers been granted, Prohibition would doubtless now prevail, in a majority of them at least; and it is believed that upon a fair vote, and with the country thoroughly aroused, this liquor crime would be prohibited by a decided majority.

NOT PROPERLY UTILIZED.

Strong, however, as this sentiment appears to be among the masses of the people, yet it is unorganized, and opposed by another sentiment thoroughly organized and of great monetary and political power. The former seems to have been too much of a praying, preaching, resolving and working one, till election day, and then of falling into party lines and voting, irrespective of this great issue,

and often irrespective of the character of the candidates for sobriety, morality or capacity; while the latter votes as it teaches and resolves, and in furtherance of its special interests without regard to party affiliations.

THE DRINK DEMORALIZATION ON THE INCREASE.

The result of this has been, that notwithstanding all that has been done, our efforts for repression have not been able to check or keep abreast of this swelling tide of drink demoralization that is sweeping over the country, taken as a whole, and the necessity is forced upon us to arouse and so utilize and increase this sentiment that it may accomplish more in the future. Some ten years ago our Nation's drink bill was, estimated from the most reliable internal rev. statistics, at \$600 000,000. From the same source the estimate for last year was \$1,040,000,000, including both foreign and domestic liquors, while the increase in the indirect cost, which results from depreciated physical capacity to labor, the loss of wages and profits, and in many other ways, is perhaps fully as great. The annual consumption of beer has increased from about 23,000,000 gallons in 1840 to 551,000,000 in 1883; that of distilled liquors from 43,000,000 gallons in 1840 to 73,000,000 in 1883, and wines from 5,000,000 to 25,000,000. Nor has the increase in beer-drinking decreased whisky-drinking, as is often contended. On the contrary, during the last five years, while beer-drinking has increased about sixty and two-tenths per cent, whisky has also increased forty-four and five-tenths per cent. While the population has only trebled since 1840, the consumption of liquor has been ten times as great. In 1840 it was a little over the average of four gallons per man, in 1883, over twelve gallons per man.

It is nevertheless true that in prohibitory states there has been a decrease. In Kansas it has been about eight per cent in spite of the rapid increase in population, and the decrease has been still greater in Maine and some other states.

OFFICIALS FAIL TO ENFORCE THE LAWS.

We are also confronted with another serious obstacle to the success of Prohibition in the failure to enforce such laws in certain localities, by reason of the growing determination of the liquor men to nullify them, and the treachery of unworthy officials charged with their execution, who have been elected by the liquor votes, or who are afraid of losing these votes, or who in certain other cases are habitual drinkers themselves, and not at all in sympathy with such laws.

POLICY OF NATIONAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS.

The policy of both the national government and that of the great majority of the states, is that of licensing and fostering the traffic. More than 200,000 wholesale and retail liquor dealers hold certificates from the former, authorizing and encouraging the sale, and these certificates go into states prohibiting as well as those allowing it. In the District of Columbia, the territories, and all other places under its exclusive jurisdiction, this policy is the rule. It imports largely and raises a considerable revenue from foreign liquors, and, by constitutional restriction, the states are utterly impotent to prevent the transmission of such liquors, in original packages, through the ports of the country, or over the avenues of inter-state commerce.

The proposition by Senator Blair to submit a prohibitory national constitution amendment to the several states, has not met

with the least serious consideration by the senate; while the passage of a bill to create a commission, simply of inquiry into the results of the liquor traffic, and thereby gather reliable statistics, has failed to pass the House of Representatives, whether republican or democratic, although the same has four times passed the senate.

HOW TO CHANGE THIS POLICY.

To change this policy, and the governmental policy especially, is therefore the imperative duty of the hour, and to effect it requires the agency of a political organization or party, just as other great reforms have necessitated the like for their accomplishment. It therefore becomes a national political issue of supreme importance, and cannot be relegated to the states alone at the bidding of any political leader or leaders, no matter how disturbing this element may be to parties and politicians.

But some of our prohibitory friends, conceding that political organization may be necessary, are wont to ask: "Why not build up the sentiment we need (and they contend that more sentiment is all we need) within existing parties, and use them, and also learn wisdom from, and follow the example of our opponents, who do not organize independently?" To this I reply, first, that no great reforms have ever been known to grow up within parties, or even churches. The anti-slavery reform could not thrive within either the old democratic or whig parties, but, through the necessary agency of an independent organization, over the corpse of the one, and despite the desperate opposition of the other, it marched triumphantly to victory. And Martin Luther, John Wesley, and even Christ himself, are examples of reforming from without, rather than from within churches. Secondly, I reply, that the liquor men, having already two great parties, well adapted to their purposes, have no need of a third, but Prohibitionists, having none, are forced to create one.

PRESENT PARTIES OPPOSED TO PROHIBITION.

Both the existing political parties have opposed or ignored this great issue, and their candidates for president and vice president have done likewise. Messrs. Cleveland and Hendricks adopt the shibboleth of their party and their liquor-loving allies, and cry out against "sumptuary laws that vex the citizen." On the other hand, Mr. Blaine would perpetuate the traffic for the purpose of raising a permanent revenue, to be appropriated to the payment of the taxes of the several states, in proportion to their population, and rejoice in the probable and constant increase of such revenue. He states that this entire revenue comes from the consumer, and, therefore, hurts no one, and that it is much better that it should come from this source than from the "farms and shops." (See letter of November, 1883). Monstrous proposition, truly, that it should be necessary, or proper, to wring this blood money from the homes of poverty and distress, to pay the taxes of the rich who own the "farms and the shops!" And more astonishing still that revenue thus obtained hurts no one! And General Logan would place a number of grog shops about every school house in order that the former may support the latter.

OUR POSITION ONE OF NECESSITY.

Necessity, conscience, loyalty to God and humanity, therefore, compel us take the position we have assumed. And having erected our standard we must rally around it, and we shall thus more rapidly increase and strengthen our sentiment that in any other way; ever courageously meeting the issue, opposing organization with organ-

ization, ballots with ballots, and having done our all, trust results to God, assured that in due time the right will triumph.

With the other reforms so well declared upon in our platform of principles, I am in full accord, and deem it unnecessary to add anything further here in regard to them. Indeed the success of many, if not all of them, would be best secured by the suppression of the liquor traffic, and can never be otherwise. In the drink demon, labor finds a much worse enemy than Irish landlord absenteeism, and all railroad and other monopolies combined. It is the great despoiler alike of wage-earnings and the profits of capital. Nor can we ever have a thorough civil-service reform until the temptations are removed, an abstinence or strict sobriety, as well as honesty and capacity, are made practical tests of office-holding. Protection, moreover, to the homes, and the now worse than wasted resources of the people, will be found to be a protection of infinitely more importance than all the protection that can be afforded by any tariff that ever has been or can be devised.

Lastly, this movement offers a grand opportunity of burying forever the sad memories and bitter hates of the war, and of uniting the better elements, Christian and moral, throughout the land against the worst, and in an organization that will know no north, south, east, or west, its great purpose being the protection of the homes against the saloons. Very respectfully,

WILLIAM DANIEL.

Possibly the principles which actuated the Prohibitionists and the reasoning upon which they were based, were never more clearly and concisely stated than in a paper by Rev. Herrick Johnson, D. D., of Chicago, which appeared in the *Advance* of October 30th, 1884. One can hardly read it, indeed, it seems impossible to us that one can read it at all, without being fully convinced that no other course was left open to the Prohibitionists than the one they pursued. One who should claim that the destruction of any particular party was any part of their motive, after a careful and candid perusal of Doctor Johnson's paper, would be fairly entitled to the name "crank" in its worst signification. The paper was as follows:

SOME FALLACIES OF THE ANTI-PROHIBITIONISTS.

For one I purpose to vote for St. John. The common sense of any individual thus determined to exercise this right of suffrage is challenged. A persistent and passionate effort is being made to drive him from his position. He is lampooned as visionary and idiotic. He is charged with the folly of fanaticism. He is even likened to Judas Iscariot. Well, it is not the first time principle has been dubbed arrant nonsense, nor the first time conscience has been taken by the throat in the sheer effort to silence her voice, nor the first time a mob has gathered to stone a new idea, coming to society with healing on its wings. It is the echo of the old din at Ephesus: "By this craft we have our wealth," and "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

It behooves Prohibitionists to hold their ground. Let us not get befogged by the fallacies of the opposition. A great moral question is lifted into politics and is insisting on its right to be heard, and this insistence is playing the mischief with a good deal of party logic. Positions are taken by good men that would not be held an

hour if the questions involved were out of politics. Let us look at some of the fallacies with which the question is clouded.

FALLACY No. 1: "A vote for St. John is a half vote for Cleveland." Numerically, yes, if a republican is behind it. Morally, a thousand times, no! Is suffrage a question of mere arithmetic? Will any sane man hold that this exercise of the right of citizenship is a mere count of heads as you would count cattle? May not a ballot voice a protest? Votes are to be weighed as well as counted. Suppose a half-million should be cast for St. John! Could they, by any possibility, be deemed an endorsement of Cleveland's shameful candidacy? Incidentally they might lead to Cleveland's election; but as a moral weight placed in the political scale they would make Blaine's and Cleveland's outnumbering votes "kick the beam;" they would be a direct and unmistakable rebuke to both the great parties; and not the most blinded partisan doubts that in such a case the politicians would begin at once to trim their sails to the new gale in national politics.

FALLACY No. 2: "A vote for St. John is a vote thrown away." This goes into the same limbo with Fallacy No. 1. It proceeds on the sheer assumption that the right of intelligent suffrage forevermore must be limited to a choice between *two men*; that the conscience of this Nation never can voice itself at the ballot box save through the two great political parties; that a vote has only a numerical value; and that *a principle cannot by any possibility be made an issue in politics so long as both parties ignore it or trample on it, and a majority of independent voters cannot be commanded for it.* This is simply "practical politics" drunk with the wine of godless partisanship and worshipping itself.

FALLACY No. 3: "Of two evils choose the least." Well, if this maxim is good, it is always good. Let us see. Suppose matters slide this year without protest, and in the possession of spoils and the greed for office both parties still further degenerate. Four years from now they present us candidates again. Suppose one of these candidates, instead of once concededly having plunged in the mire, is wallowing there, a notorious libertine. Suppose the other candidate, instead of having failed of high-minded statesmanship by the policy of expediency, instead of having subjected himself merely to the suspicion of corruption, is actually and notoriously corrupt, having prostituted his place to gain. Must it still be "Of two evils choose the least?" If this is a right principle of action, where will you stop with it? It shuts up the intelligence and conscience of this Nation hopelessly to the will of two political parties. There is no alternative. We can be forever met and silenced with the maxim, "Of two evils choose the least," no matter to what pass we come in party corruption. Away with such a principle of action! It is utterly fallacious and false. Outside of politics it would be repudiated instantly and indignantly by many a good man who now quotes it as if it settled the whole question of duty in the present political situation. No, the thing to be determined is whether the good of voicing a calm and earnest protest against corruption, and of voicing a conviction concerning a great national curse, do not immeasurably outweigh the incidental evil of the temporary success of an objectionable and disgraceful candidacy. The thing to be determined is whether by our vote we shall take in the now or the future. Will any sane Christian man deny that the time might come when of two evils we should repudiate both, in utter scorn of consequence; or, rather, in the joyful assurance of the glory of final consequence? Well, if a goodly number of us think that time has

come, who is to browbeat us into silence by thrusting at us the pernicious principle, "Of two evils you are bound to choose the least?"

FALLACY No. 4: "A Prohibitionist voting for St. John is as responsible for the possible indirect effect of his vote, *i. e.* the election of Cleveland, as a saloon-keeper is responsible for the indirect effect of his business, *i. e.* drunkenness, crime, impoverishment, broils, broken-hearts, widows, orphans, murder!" To this monstrous length have men gone in the blinding fog of political partisanship. Look at it. I fire through a plate-glass window at a burglar whom I see attempting a woman's life; and I am as responsible for the plate-glass window as the saloon-keeper is for the foul brood hatched from his infamous business! The incidental effect of arresting a great conflagration is the blowing up of a dozen houses; and the authorities are as responsible for that property as the proprietors of vile grogeries are responsible for the desolation and destruction that come from their putting the bottle to their neighbor's lips and making him drunken! Paul preaches the Gospel throughout Asia Minor, and the effect is that mobs silence him by driving him out of city after city, where if he would only *modify* the Gospel terms he could stay and preach; and he is as responsible for those violences and that depriving cities of the Gospel, as the liquor seller is responsible for the violences and godlessness that are seen on the track of his trade everywhere! Motive is nothing; moral protest is nothing, final results are nothing; ultimate ends are nothing! The behests of conscience are nothing; moral distinctions are swept away. The sublime idea of right loses its value and its grip. Consequences are everything!

Prohibitionists, stand by your guns. No great and overwhelming issue is between the two great parties. Mr. Blaine says the tariff issue is the great issue. But where he can show millions saved by a protective tariff, we can show tens of millions worse than lost by the liquor traffic, and the last Congress is proof conclusive that there are enough protectionists in the democratic party to make any revolutionary tariff impossible.

Mr. Cleveland says civil service and moral reform is the great issue. But he must wash out his record in bitter tears of penitence before he is fitted to speak on any question of morality in politics.

Others say that a Solid South is the great issue. Well, a Solid South is bad, unspeakably bad. The way it is secured is a gross injustice and a burning disgrace. But how is the election of Blaine or Cleveland to effect this issue? For twenty years and more the republicans have had the administration. Grant withdrew the troops from the South. He conceded, and everybody now concedes, that we cannot secure justice and protection to the negro at the South by United States bayonets. Hayes came in, and he did nothing to break the Solid South. Garfield and Arthur have left the South solid still—solidier than it was eighteen years ago. If that infamy of injustice to the negro could be wiped out by the election of Mr. Blaine, there would be reason in making it the great issue. But the national government is confessedly helpless. The question, by common consent, has been left to the individual States, and the progress of enlightened and Christian ideas. Who knows but the question of prohibition is the one issue that will at last break Southern solidity?

Meanwhile, what a woeful prominence it has assumed. See this liquor oligarchy! It has our great cities by the throat. It holds in the hollow of its hand hundreds of thousands of votes and

can hurl them this way, or that, at its own arbitrary will or dictation. It assaults our legislatures and corrupts our legislation. It is the chief curse of the nation. It destroys far more in value than a protective tariff secures. It pauperizes and demoralizes and wastes and blights and kills. It is the supreme issue. For one I purpose to vote for St. John.

In the same number of the *Advance*, Rev. Washington Gladden, D. D., reasoning from an entirely different stand-point from that occupied by Doctor Johnson, comes to a very similar conclusion. Doctor Gladden asserts that the campaign was one of *character only*, while the Prohibitionists claimed it was one of both *principle and character*. Doctor Gladden closed his article as follows.

"These are some of the reasons why I can support neither Blaine nor Cleveland. 'But one of them will be elected, men say. Not by any help of mine, I answer. My duty to bear testimony against them both is as clear as the sunlight. I would gladly have voted for an independent candidate. Since none has been offered me, I shall vote for Gov. St. John. I am not a devotee of Prohibition, and there is much in the platform on which St. John stands that I cannot accept—though there is less of nauseous nonsense and more of honest conviction in it than in the platforms of the other parties; but I heartily agree with Dr. Crosby, that the supreme issue in this campaign is one of character, and that every man who believes that morality is the supreme thing, ought to vote for the only candidate who is known to be a clean and upright man.

"But your vote will be thrown away.' O fools and blind! Have you never heard that there is a God who loves righteousness and hates iniquity? Do you think that a man who votes against a flagrant wrong ever loses his vote? I tell you nay. There is a day after to-day; and the votes of the men who stand up for righteousness to-day will count in all the future of this country—count a hundred times more than the votes of those who stifle their consciences to serve their party."

To his final paragraph certainly every Prohibitionist could utter a hearty "Amen."

A DAY OF PRAYER.

Recognizing fully the Christian principle which constituted so large an element in the Prohibition movement, and faithfully believing that christianity is at the foundation of all right action, and especially of all reform, and that political action should be consistent with and governed by Christian principle, the National Executive Committee issued, through its chairman and corresponding secretary, the following "call" for a day of fasting and prayer:

PROHIBITION HEADQUARTERS, }
CHICAGO, ILL., Oct. 7, 1884. }

To the People of the United States:

In view of the misery and crime resulting from alcoholism, and of the guilt fastened upon the people by governments—municipal, state and national—by permitting and even licensing the traffic in poisonous drinks, the Executive Committee of the Prohibition party call upon the people of this country to observe Wednesday Oct. 29th, as a day of fasting, humiliation and confession,

and in view of the fact that many all over the land are aroused and realize the enormity of the liquor crime, and are willing to be at cost and pains to put it away, we call upon all Christian believers to unite in prayer to Almighty God that his aid may be given to measures which will result in the speedy putting away of this guilt and the suppression of the traffic in alcoholic drinks.

This call was sent by mail to about two hundred temperance and religious journals in the country, and also given to the Associated Press and the United Press Association. In this manner it was given the widest possible circulation, but the Committee had no means of knowing how generally it was observed. Perhaps not as generally as the Committee had hoped, though there were letters received to show that it was not entirely unobserved, and we feel confident that very many Christian people, even in places where there was no general observance, did fast and humiliate themselves in view of the guilt fastened upon them by governments in licensing the liquor traffic, and with humble confession of their own sins and responsibilities in the matter, did earnestly beseech Almighty God for his aid to measures which should result in putting away this guilt. This it will be observed was the spirit of the call issued by the Committee. It was not a call for a day of prayer for the success of the Prohibition party as such, but for God's aid to measures, of whatever kind, himself to be the judge, which should remove the guilt of his people and result in the speedy suppression of the traffic in alcoholic drinks. Surely in this supplication all Christians could unite, without respect to parties or creeds, for, as a "non-partisan" and "non-sectarian" measure it stood, and still stands, pre-eminent before the world.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE CAMPAIGN.

The presidential campaign of 1884 was not upon the whole one of which the American people should be proud. Mr. James G. Blaine, the nominee of the republicans, was repudiated by many life-long members of that party as one utterly unfit to receive the suffrages of the citizens. They claimed that he was a most adroit and efficient champion of the corporations which fatten at the expense of the people. Messrs. Jay Gould, Elkins, Dorsey, Clayton & Co., were his supporters because they knew their man.

It was further charged that Mr. Blaine was unworthy on account of his utter and shameless untruthfulness.

"It is useless to tell me what Senator Hoar says, and what President Woolsey says. I can read and understand the English language; I know the meaning of words and the force of phrases; and I undertake to say that if Mr. Blaine has not wilfully and deliberately and shamelessly lied to the people of this country, over and over again, then it is impossible for falsehood to be uttered in the English language. Some of these falsehoods are very adroit and skillful; for that reason they are all the more detestable. When Mr. Blaine stood up in congress and took 'forty-four millions of people into his confidence,' he abused their confidence; he told them what he knew to be untrue." (6)

But the charge which was most considered was that of official corruption, that he had used his high place as speaker of the house to further personal ends. The "Mulligan letters" and their history furnish an extraordinary page in our annals.

"And the whole correspondence does certainly reveal a man of low moral tone; eager to get money; sly and deceitful in his methods; constantly and skillfully endeavoring to cover his own tracks; anxious to form alliances with men whose purpose was the plunder of the government. There is not in all these many letters, one glimmer of a suggestion that this man felt any sense of obligation or responsibility to the Nation, whose sworn servant he was: all his thoughts are of his own fortunes, and of the means by which he may multiply his gains, repair his losses, and push his personal interests. What such a man must have meant, and did mean, by the intimations in these letters, is but too evident. He meant to suggest to Fisher and Caldwell that he would go to the verge of personal safety in promoting their interests. They agree, in their correspondence, that it would be a good thing for them to have Speaker Blaine kindly disposed toward them. He meant that they should get this impression, and they got it. Is the congressman who could write such letters, and make such suggestions, and keep himself in such relations with such men, fit to be President of the United States?" (7)

In such terms some of the ablest men of the country spoke of Mr. Blaine. On the other hand, some whose honesty and integrity could not be impeached were unstinted in their admiration. They seemed to pass by even Mr. Blaine's own letters as "campaign lies."

As the campaign progressed the spirit of party grew apace. Every device known was adopted, to ensure success. The past glory of the party, the necessity for the election of Mr. Blaine in order to business prosperity, the alleged moral character of the party, with whose success the cause of temperance was involved, were urged vehemently. Mr. B. F. Butler was in the field ostensibly as a candidate of the anti-monopolists, but really to divide if possible, the democratic vote, and thus aid Mr. Blaine. The "Irish vote" was diligently cultivated, and with success it would appear, judging from the flutter produced by Rev. Dr. Burchard's untimely allusion to "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." It was roundly asserted that the republican was the temperance party. At the same time it was claiming with equal positiveness in other quarters to be the best friend and surest support of the brewing interests, and upon the whole the best protector of "personal liberty," that is the right to sell alcoholic drinks. No contradiction was too glaring, no claim too preposterous, no measure that promised success too corrupt for the great moral party to adopt to secure votes. Mr. Blaine entered the canvass, but did nothing to lift it above the low level of personal and party ambition which marked it from the first.

The candidate of the democracy was Mr. Grover Cleveland,

Governor of New York. His political advancement was something phenomenal, as no special talents were claimed for him by his most ardent admirers. Two things especially commended him to the masses: he had been an industrious, fearless, faithful, public officer, and he had acquired, and it was believed, earned, the bitter enmity of "Tammany Hall" the synonym of political corruption. He was nominated, however, simply because it was believed he could "carry New York," and that in spite of Tammany. These considerations gave to the nomination of Mr. Cleveland an amount of favor which promised well for his success, and inspired his party with unwonted hope and courage.

But very soon after the opening of the canvass grave charges were made against the private character of Mr. Cleveland, which upon investigation seemed too well founded. The admissions of his friends made it impossible to defend his fame except against some of the more gross charges which grew up around the central and apparently acknowledged transgression. There was a profound revolt among the people and it was one of the few bright spots in the otherwise gloomy picture. Many sympathized with the writer of the following:

"The reasons for not voting for Governor Cleveland are obvious enough. That he has been a good executive officer—honest and faithful in the discharge of his duties as Governor of New York, I fully believe, but the social infamy in which he is steeped has raised against him an outcry none too indignant from the conscience of the whole country. It would be a monstrous thing to see this man, all defiled and disfigured by his immoralities, sitting in the highest place in the government. As Dr. Bacon has so clearly shown, the President of the United States is not merely the chief executive officer of the government, he is also, by virtue of his position, the first gentleman of America; his home is the center of the social life of the national capital; his influence is felt not only in governmental circles but throughout all our society; and the thought of putting such a man into this place of eminence, and directing toward him, branded and blackened as he is, the eyes of all our boys and girls, of all our young men and maidens, of all the world, is simply intolerable." (8)

The dilemma of the intelligent voter who possessed sufficient independence to see and weigh the facts, and had enough of patriotism to be jealous of his country's honor, was painful. He was loudly called upon to stand by his "party," but one of those parties had offered for his support a man corrupt in private life, and the other a man corrupt in public life.

"Now as between lechery and lying I decline to institute any comparison. What right has any man to say that the breaking of the Seventh Commandment is a mortal sin, while the breaking of the Eighth and the Ninth Commandments is a venial sin? With what reason or justice can men repudiate a notorious libertine, and then turn round and decorate with high office a notorious liar? Who does not know that falsehood, and especially falsehood in the quest of money and of office, is the canker that is eating the heart of this nation?" (9)

This extract shows in a strong light what should have been seen by the masses of the American people with the result of turning away from both the corrupt old parties with their fit representative candidates. But all over the land there rang two cries both expressive of enormous and shameful fallacies: "Of two evils choose the least" and "Don't throw away your vote!" These mingled with personal abuse and vilification almost stifled the attempts made to discuss living issues. No such issues were presented by the platforms of the two old parties, which seemed rather efforts to outbid each other in demagogism.

The Prohibition party presented an issue, and demanded for it a hearing. To the believers in Divine Providence it should have been suggestive of serious reflection that a great Christian nation had been left to make its election for chief magistrate between two men, both utterly disqualified by criminal practices, or turn away from both to some other candidate. And as if to supply the need which such a combination of circumstances created, a candidate was offered in the person of Mr. John P. St. John, a citizen of stainless private character, a soldier who had borne his part in toil and danger, a man of more experience in public affairs than Mr. Cleveland, and above all one who stood as the advocate and the representative of the vital and pressing question before the American people. That the American people in such a canvass should turn away from the issue of Prohibition and its representative, and range themselves in two great camps under Mr. Blaine and Mr. Cleveland respectively is a spectacle not pleasant to contemplate, and reminds one of another election, among another people, when their choice was expressed in the cry: "Not this man but Barabbas."

THE NEW YORK STATE TEMPERANCE ASSEMBLY.

This outline of the situation as it appeared about the time of the Ohio election would be incomplete if it did not embrace the documents which set forth the effort of the "New York State Temperance Assembly" to solve the problem of the election in favor of Mr. Blaine. It was altogether a remarkable attempt, and when carefully studied will disclose some suggestive features of the times. As the letter to Mr. St. John embodies all the arguments in use at the time we deem it worthy of presentation. The 602 delegates who nominated Mr. St. John, and the tens of thousands of American voters who sent them to Pittsburgh for the purpose of nominating some one as their standard bearer, are not thought of sufficient account to be noticed. Mr. St. John was addressed as if he alone was concerned. But it was a personal campaign. The following is the letter:

NEW YORK, Oct. 10th, 1884.

We, steadfast temperance men and Prohibitionists ourselves, ask your careful consideration of the following reasons for not voting the National Prohibition ticket, and thereby aiding the democratic ticket:

First—Because it is the general sentiment of Prohibitionists that the cause will hereafter, as heretofore, be more successful when the question of prohibition is submitted to a vote of the people separate from other issues and distinct from party politics.

Second—Because prohibition cannot successfully make a National political issue until a policy to be pursued has been clearly defined and approved by the great body of the friends of the cause in the United States.

Third—Because the present Prohibition ticket was put in the field without such approval. The convention that inaugurated the movement and nominated the ticket, did not represent the great body of Prohibitionists throughout the country, and a large part of the convention opposed placing a ticket in the field. Temperance people in states in which prohibition has been successful, as Iowa, Maine and Kansas, generally opposed it.

Fourth—Because the present movement is confusing—no plan of operations being properly defined. According to its platform, a vote for St. John is as much a vote for woman suffrage—for Chinese emigration to this country—for taking the appointing power away from the president—for its unjust imputations against both Blaine and Logan—as it is for temperance and prohibition.

Fifth—Because the platform is not the expression of the convention, but of a committee appointed to revise and publish it. The platform adopted by the convention contained a fiat money green-back plank, which the committee eliminated. Gov. St. John in his acceptance heartily endorses the platform but fails to say whether it is the one adopted by the convention or the committee.

Before presenting the crude document in the name of the Prohibitionists of the country for the suffrages of the American people, the question to be voted on should have been more carefully considered and authoritatively adopted. Especially before requiring them, as this platform does, to ignore all other questions of public interest represented by the republican and democratic parties, and to "immediately withdraw from all connection with these parties."

Sixth—Because it is unfair to patriotic citizens to bring the question of prohibition before the people in such shape as not only to require its friends to vote for what many of them do not approve; but to sacrifice their votes on all other questions, however vitally important to the welfare of the country when there is not the slightest prospect of success.

It is true that the republican party declined to make prohibition an issue in its platform.

For it to have done so would have been political suicide. It would have driven out of the party all of its members, excepting the Prohibitionists. It would therefore have been the abandonment of the field to the democratic party. It would have been to give over the protection of their rights and the education and elevation of the freedmen, the preservation and maintenance of all of the wise and beneficent measures and the great achievements of the republican party to the care, enforcement, and preservation of the party that has always been bitterly opposed to them.

It is also true that its candidates are not at liberty to make new issues for the party by letters, speeches, or acts; for either to do so would be unwarranted assumption. Some Prohibitionists have censured Mr. Blaine for not voting on the amendment to the constitution of Maine. But a little reflection will satisfy every fair-minded person that it would have been an assumption of party authority immediately after the national convention had declined to make the question an issue.

For Mr. Blaine to have voted against the amendment would have been unjust to the Prohibitionists, and to have voted for it, unjust to those who are opposed—both having joined in adopting the platform and nominating him to stand upon it.

Seventh—Because votes by republicans for St. John are thrown away from the party that favors majority rule—a free ballot and fair count—a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and which permits a vote on the question of prohibition under all proper circumstances; thrown away in favor of the party that is opposed to all prohibitory legislation, whether the people are in favor of it or not:

Eighth—Because republican votes for the Prohibition ticket are threefold worse than thrown away, i. e., they weaken the party of fair play; they strengthen the party of uncompromising hostility; and they endorse an unwise and ill-digested movement that will greatly embarrass, retard, and weaken the cause of prohibition.

Ninth—Because there not being the slightest prospect of the election of this so-called Prohibition ticket, the only result of republicans voting for it in large numbers will be to put the democratic party in control of the general government.

Tenth—Because if this is the object, as some leaders in the movement avow it to be, it will be more honorable and straightforward to vote for Cleveland and Hendricks direct than for St. John, as this would avoid the odium of practicing a deception upon the friends of temperance in order to do a thing of such doubtful propriety as to put Gov. Cleveland into the White House.

Eleventh—Because we do not believe any true republican can honestly throw away his vote or aid directly or indirectly in electing the democrat ticket. If republicans have allowed abuses, democrats have always been worse. It is unreasonable to favor a change from bad to worse simply for a change. It would be tempting a great calamity. The success of the democratic party at this time would throw a dark cloud of doubt and uncertainty and a gloom of impending danger over the business interests of the country that would last for years.

No one can tell what policy it would pursue. What of the republican legislation of the last twenty-five years it would repeal or what new measures it would adopt.

The danger and probabilities are that its acts would be in accord with its former course, doctrines, and traditions, for it professes to adhere to all of its "time-honored principles." It is only safe to judge of these by its former acts and by the known and oft repeated sentiments of a majority of those composing and of course controlling the party. They are largely the men who made and sympathized with the war for the overthrow of the government. A caucus of its members of congress would be controlled by these men. And thus they would take charge of the government they so recently attempted to destroy.

Would the pensions of the disabled Union soldiers and the provisions made for their care and preferments and for their widows and orphans be safe in such keeping?

The party opposed the creation of the national debt. Would the national credit be safe if intrusted to its care? It opposed the establishment of our national banking system. Would it not alter, cripple or overthrow it?

It has always opposed a protective tariff. Would it not leave our manufacturing, productive, and labor interests without proper fostering care by its "revenue reforms"?

It opposed emancipation, enfranchisement, equality before the

law, and civil rights for the negro. Would it be likely to maintain and enforce the laws securing them? Or would it be a safe guardian and friend to promote the elevation of the negroes which are so important to their welfare and to the safety and prosperity of the institutions of the country?

It opposed the amendments to the constitution and the reconstruction acts, and has threatened in its platform their repeal. If put in power can any one tell what course it would pursue on these questions?

Is any republican so strong a Prohibitionist as to be willing to jeopardize all these great interests for the purpose of throwing away his vote on Gov. St. John?

Twelfth—Because it is wrong to elect a party to power that ignores its principles and evades discussing the policy it intends to pursue, and attempts to get into power by personal detraction of its opponents. Do you propose to thus aid in indorsing the license of the press and the prostitution of the artists' pencils and orators' platforms to the purpose of robbing men of their good name, that iterates and reiterates its personal detractions, misrepresentations, and slanders as now resorted to by the democratic party through its old and new leaders, or do you favor "clean politics?"

Thirteenth—Both the nominees for president and vice-president by the republican party are both competent and worthy. Both are high-minded and honorable Christian gentlemen, members in good standing—one in the Congregational, the other in the Methodist Episcopal church—against whom the poisoned darts of malice have been hurled by their political enemies in vain. Both of whom have been in the clear light of the public gaze before the country for twenty years. They have occupied the highest places in the councils of the nation. They have been honored leaders of their party for all that long period, enjoying its implicit trust and unshaken confidence in their wisdom, integrity, and faithfulness to public duty.

Fourteenth—Because the nominee of the democratic party for president is neither competent nor worthy to fill the highest and most responsible office in this great nation.

His gross blunder while dodging the tariff question in his letter accepting the nomination by declaring that the president has nothing to do with legislation—his office being simply executive—proves that he has no proper idea of the duties of the office. The constitution makes it the duty of the president to recommend to congress such legislation as he favors, and gives him the absolute power to prevent such as he opposes unless passed by a two-thirds vote in each branch—the house of representatives and the senate.

As to his worthiness to occupy the white house, the whole country knows the grounds of our objections, which are not denied by his most earnest advocates.

As to the candidate for vice-president, he has been too prominently before the country not to be known to be obnoxious to all that has been said against his party.

For these reasons we appeal to every true republican to stand by and vote the ticket of his party, and not to throw his vote away on either St. John, Butler, or Mrs. Lockwood, for that will only aid the democrats, who, in the language of Mr. George William Curtis, are "a party which fell from power as a conspiracy against human rights, and now attempts to sneak back to power as a conspiracy for plunder and spoils." And, for these reasons, we respectfully request ex-Gov. St. John to withdraw from the canvass.

ST. JOHN'S REPLY.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 11th, 1884.

GENTLEMEN:—In the *New York Tribune* of this date I find your names appended to a request that I withdraw from the canvass as the Prohibition nominee for the presidency, together with an elaborate statement of reasons why, in your judgment, I should take this course. Permit me to reply that I have given your statement and request such careful and candid consideration as, coming from men of your high character, they merit, and that I can neither agree with the one nor comply with the other. In justice to myself and courtesy to you I must, refer you specifically to some of the leading reasons which you urge. Bear with me while I do this in the briefest possible way:

First—You desire prohibition submitted to the people “separate from other issues, and distinct from party politics.” I desired the republican party, at its national convention, to favor such submission; the same desire was expressed through petitions by hundreds of thousands of others, and our very modest wish was there denied. Believing prohibition a national need to blot out a national curse, we could not ask, and the republican party could not with fairness grant, any less. Refusing that slightest possible recognition, the party could no longer have the least possible claim upon my vote; because,

Second—The policy of national prohibition has already been clearly defined and approved by “the great body of the friends of the cause in the United States;” more clearly defined and more generally approved by these than was a national policy concerning slavery, when that had common recognition as a national issue and arrayed parties in open contest. This national policy may be summed up in one phrase: National sovereignty over the liquor traffic to suppress it, instead of to legalize, protect and perpetuate it.

Third—Out of the wide-spread approval which this policy has attained, and because of it, came the Pittsburg convention, with its more than six hundred delegates, representing thirty-one states, and, as I believe, more representative of the “great body of Prohibitionists throughout the country” than any other body ever assembled. It was a convention regularly called, with an unusual interim for temperance people to consider it and to plan for it. Its delegates were citizens of representative character, many of whom had recently been active workers in, or sympathizers with, one or the other of the old parties. They went there, under a plain call, to nominate a presidential ticket, and for no other purpose; and your assertion that “a large part of that convention opposed placing a ticket in the field” has never before been made to my knowledge, is not justified by the detailed reports of proceedings printed in leading journals at the time, and is emphatically contradicted by reliable witnesses, delegates and spectators who sat in the convention and are familiar with all that was there done and said. On your third point, therefore, you surely have been misinformed as to the facts.

Fourth—I see nothing more “confusing” in the Prohibition movement than in any other, unless you mean that it is confusing the politicians. Had prohibition alone been referred to in the platform you might have objected to it as a “one-idea” party. Woman’s suffrage it relegates to the states, and condemning the policy of both the old parties with regard to the Chinese it but speaks in the old republican spirit, the old republican doctrine,

which that party in its greed to catch the vote of the Pacific states now repudiates. As to the imputations upon the republican candidates I find only such as appeal to facts, and that appeal you can make as well. They should serve every occasion of truth.

Fifth—I believe the questions considered in the Prohibition platform were as carefully considered and as authoritatively adopted as any that have this year been presented to the American people, and I am satisfied that they embody, in a higher degree and far more comprehensively, the well-being and prosperity of our country than do those which have recognition in both democratic and republican platforms.

Sixth—"It is true," you say, "that the republican party declined to make prohibition an issue in its platform." The party was not asked to make prohibition an issue. For the principle it was not requested to declare; it was merely asked to favor submitting the question to the people. If for it to have done this, as you assert, "would have been political suicide," then I see no hope or possibility of the republican party ever granting even so slight a concession to temperance men, and I am amazed that you should urge my longer loyalty to that party.

Seventh and Eighth—If that party which you call "the party of fair play" and of "majority rule" cannot now nationally declare in favor of both without political suicide what hope have we that in any state it will long favor either; or that as a national body it will ever support the national policy for which I stand and in behalf of which the national Prohibition party have declared? Uncompromising hostility to that policy cannot so surely and fatally delay its success as can covert enmity cloaked in friendly disguise.

Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh—You are not republicans, I may assume, simply because you expect to elect your ticket. We cannot forego being Prohibitionists merely because we have no sure promise of at once electing ours; and while it may be unreasonable, as you insist, "to favor a change from bad to worse simply for a change," it is always reasonable to favor right and to stand by principle regardless of what change may be brought about as a result. I have loved my country well enough to carry a musket in its defense and to risk life in its service; I hold its obligation to every brave defender, or those now representing such, as forever sacred, the national credit and the material resources of the nation I would not see impaired, and all that was gained for God and humanity by years of war I would see preserved through years of peace; but 175,000 legalized dram shops imperil our national credit and impair our national resources to an extent more alarming than any other danger which now threatens us; a protective tariff on the liquor traffic loses to labor \$10 for every dollar which labor gains by a protective tariff on imports; the education and elevation of our entire people, white and black, are more dependent upon the prohibition of the saloon than upon the perpetuity of any party in power, and as a patriot, and an humble defender of my country in its former need, I cannot now let old party attachments hold me silent while a more deadly enemy than rebellion bids us wait and work his will.

Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth—As to parties and candidates: If "it is wrong," as you affirm, "to elect a party to power that ignores its principles, and evades discussing the policy it intends to pursue," it must be radically wrong for either of us to help elect the republican party, since if it have any temperance principles it ignores them, if it have any temperance policy it evades dis-

curring it. Indeed, that party's chief aim now is to hold both the liquor and the temperance vote, which purpose utterly forbids any positive temperance principle and encourages only a practical liquor policy. In the very same issue of the *Tribune* which contains your "Appeal to Republican Prohibitionists" and your request to me, I find the letter of a "Republican Brewer," telling why "brewers should support Blaine"—"A protest against the attempt to use their association for Cleveland," in which occurs this frank avowal: "Our national organization is twenty-four years old. During all those years the republicans have been in power in national affairs, and I submit to every candid brewer, be he democrat or be he republican, if the brewing interests of our country have not grown to immense proportions, if our rights and our interests have not been protected, fostered and encouraged by our government." In the same letter I read also the following: "Mr. Blaine was correct when he said Prohibition was not a national question or issue. This being the case, let us not do anything to antagonize a party that has always treated the brewing interests fairly, whose policy is to foster, protect and encourage home industries, and which should not be held responsible for the opinions and acts of a few men who claim membership in the party." And in proof that this "Republican Brewer" has full authority for his statement of what the republican party's policy is, let me remind you that said party has declared for "the largest diversities," which clearly includes the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, and that Mr. Blaine has recently enunciated as the third "doctrine" in the republican party's creed "encouragement of every form of American industry," which declaration, together with his revenue letter to the *Philadelphia Press*, proposing to make the tax on spirituous and malt liquors a "permanent resource to all the states," fully justifies the expectation of further "encouragement" and "protection" which this republican brewer proclaims to his friends.

With regard to candidates, intellectually and morally, I have not a word to say. I prefer to leave personal abuse and vilification to those who have nothing better to uphold their cause. But when you speak of Mr. Cleveland's "gross blunder while dodging the tariff question," common fairness should forbid your excusing Mr. Blaine for his equally gross neglect of duty in dodging a vote on the prohibition amendment in his own state. For the slightest analysis of the situation would show you that it was only as to the admission of such an amendment that his party's national convention had laid any "authority" upon him, while the long time policy of the party in his state, submission being granted, should have commanded him to vote on and for the principle. If Prohibition were not, as Mr. Blaine said, a national issue, he surely was not justified, because of any action or failure to act on the part of his national convention, in dodging it when presented as a state issue purely.

I have been many years an humble worker in the temperance cause, am considerably familiar with the several temperance organizations of New York, and until three days ago had never heard of the New York State Temperance Assembly, from which your request purports to emanate; and, as I observe that only three of your number reside in New York state, I am compelled to believe that its organization is only for campaign purposes, and its membership so small that those who control it were forced to go outside the state for co-operation.

In conclusion, gentlemen, permit me to say that so long as the government is the open partner of the liquor business to the extent

of ninety cents for every gallon of whisky made and sold; so long as men may and do illicitly sell liquor in violation of state law under a United States tax receipt, which makes the government *particeps criminis* in such illicit sale; so long as in the District of Columbia and in the territories congress may and does permit that which it should forbid, just so long this issue of the liquor traffic will remain a national issue, and just so long the Prohibition party will be a national necessity. In view of the fact that said party presents the only presidential nominee standing on a temperance platform, would it not be more consistent for "steadfast temperance men" at once to demand the immediate withdrawal of your own candidate and thus avoid all possible calamities to which you refer, including, as you term it, "a thing of such doubtful propriety as to put Gov. Cleveland into the White House? For you may rest assured that, so far as I am concerned, I shall neither withdraw from the canvass nor assume a neutral position, but, with God's help, I shall continue this warfare on the liquor traffic as long as I live and the flag of our country waves its protecting folds over a legalized dram-shop. And while a vote for any candidate, simply as such, may be lost, a vote for principle is never thrown away. I, therefore, appeal to all lovers of God and country and home, to burst asunder their party shackles that have bound them, and rising above mere partisan considerations, cast their ballots for principle, leaving to God the results.

JOHN F. ST. JOHN.

THE HISTORY OF THE SCHEME.

The New York *Weekly Witness* gives the whole history of this appeal in the following language :

There is a young gentleman in Brooklyn, whose name out of kindness we forbear to mention, who is chiefly known for the extraordinary variety of societies with which at various times he has been connected, and who has become somewhat noted for the readiness with which he can call a new society into existence whenever occasion requires. This gentleman is an ardent republican. There are some other temperance republicans in Brooklyn, but those who would be willing to join a society organized to counteract the St. John movement could be counted on one's fingers. The Brooklyn *Eagle* not long ago published a secret circular signed by the young gentleman mentioned and a handful of others, which was evidently designed as an underground effort to unite the "Blaine prohibitionists" of Brooklyn in an anti-St. John movement. It was hoped by the Kings County Prohibitionists that the premature publication of this circular would be enough to frustrate the plot.

A few days later the long appeal to Gov. St. John appeared in the New York *Tribune*. It purported to emanate from the "New York State Temperance Assembly." We never knew before that there was such an organization in existence. The national temperance society never heard of it before. Its office was placed at 398 Fulton street, Brooklyn ; but we venture to say that no one in Brooklyn was aware that any temperance society had an office at that number. The document was signed by Theodore L. Woolsey, ex-president of Yale College, New Haven ; Judge Noah Davis, of New York ; and others, whose addresses were North Billerica, Mass. ; Chicago, Ill. ; Evanston, Ill. ; Denver, Col., etc. Only two names were in Brooklyn, including the hero of this narrative. These and the one in New York city, were the only names in this state. If Dr. Woolsey and Judge Davis read the document before signing it, they could hardly have been cognizant of the cir

stances of its origin. And how could gentlemen all over the country properly figure as representatives of the New York State Temperance Assembly?" We are informed upon excellent authority that the conclave in Brooklyn at which the paper was adopted, it was decided to use the title, "Kings County Temperance Assembly;" but that our young friend in getting the matter printed, thought appearances might be improved by making it, "New York State Temperance Assembly." A phantom society truly!

THE STATE ELECTION IN MAINE.

This election which occurred on the 8th of September had importance for several reasons. Mr. Blaine and his party desired the most pronounced endorsement of the republican party and its candidates. Whatever furthered this end was laid under contribution.

By the action of the preceding legislature the people were to vote upon the adoption of a prohibitory amendment, and intense interest was felt in the result by Prohibitionists all over the country. In this state Prohibition had been on trial since 1851, and the verdict to be given was awaited with eagerness. It was said that Mr. Blaine and Mr. Neal Dow had an understanding looking to a support of the amendment on Mr. Blaine's part, and in return Mr. Dow would favor the candidacy of Mr. Blaine. It is known that Mr. Dow voted for Mr. Blaine and such a vote is difficult to explain except upon a hypothesis embracing the constitutional amendment which Mr. Dow regarded as of supreme importance. If any such agreement was made Mr. Blaine failed on his part so far as his vote was concerned. He went to the poll late in the afternoon and voted, but not for the amendment. Care was taken to inform the country of that fact and also to give the reasons. In a speech delivered at ten o'clock on the night of the election he said:

"The issue on the temperance amendment to the constitution has been very properly and very rigidly separated from the political contest of the state to-day. Many democrats voted for it, and some republicans voted against it. The republican party, by the desire of many leading temperance men, took no action as a party on the amendment. For myself I decided not to vote at all on the question. I took this position because I am chosen by the republican party as the representative of national issues, and by no act of mine shall any question be obtruded into the national campaign which belongs properly to the domain of state politics. Certain advocates of Prohibition and certain opponents of Prohibition are each seeking to drag the issue into the national canvass, and thus tending to exclude from popular consideration questions which press for national decision. If there be any questions that belong solely to the police power of the state it is the control of the liquor traffic, and wise men will not neglect national issues in the year of the national contest. The judicious friends of protective tariff, which is the practical issue of the campaign, will not divert their votes to the question of Prohibition which is not a practical issue in a national campaign."

This carefully worded deliverance, so exactly in harmony

with the silence of the republican national convention, was the most plausible excuse which could be made for evading the question. It was accepted on all hands as a notification that he and his party were not to be regarded as having any such convictions as result in action. But the people of Maine, unlike the politicians, had convictions, and by a majority of 46,972 they placed Prohibition in their fundamental law, and answered the question of the success of Prohibition in Maine.

There was much during the weeks preceding the Ohio election Oct. 14th to encourage the Prohibitionists to expect a vote approaching that for Fremont in 1856. With the tremendous sentiment known to exist in favor of Prohibition it seemed reasonable to look for a heavy vote for St. John & Daniel. The New York *Weekly Witness*, the New York *Independent*, the *Advance*, Chicago, and many other papers came out for the Prohibition ticket. The great religious publishing house of Funk & Wagnall's issued a vigorous and ably edited campaign paper called *The Voice*. Many secular journals, some of them of considerable influence and ability, either openly espoused the Prohibition party, or allowed a fair treatment of it in their columns.

There were very few who had been actively at work for Prohibition either men or women who did not favor the party. The attitude of Mr. Gough appears from the following speech in Tremont Temple, Boston:

"Mr. John B. Gough, who was warmly received, said: Fellow citizens: I am no politician, and I am not going to make a political speech. For forty-two years I have been fighting this liquor trade—the trade that robbed me of seven of the best years of my life. I have long voted the republican ticket, hoping always for help in my contest from the republican party. But we have been expecting something from that party in vain, and now, when they have treated the most respectful appeal from the most respectable men in this country with silent contempt, I say it is time for us to leave off trusting and to express our opinion of the party. [Applause.] I do not believe in compromises of any sort, nor have I believed in them at any time in my career. I have fought the drink traffic right straight through, and I want Prohibitionists to show an uncompromising front to the traffic ['Hear, hear.'] We are fighting a tremendous evil, and we must make sacrifices if they become necessary. But there must be no compromise with the enemy. You must stand to your principles. They talk about protection, but we temperance people have no protection whatever. [Cheers.] We want protection from the liquor traffic for the widow and the orphan and the children. [Applause.] That is why I changed my politics, and if I live until the first Tuesday in November, I shall give my vote for a prohibitory candidate. [Cheers.] With political parties and with demagogic methods of argument and abuse we have nothing to do. I believe that free whisky in the United States and Benjamin Butler's teachings would bring a bloody revolution in this country in less than five years, and I pray God to give us good men to rule over us. I have defined my position, and with God's help I will stick to it, too, the remainder of my life. [Loud cheers.]"

Great crowds assembled to hear Mr. St. John and other Prohibition speakers, and much enthusiasm was exhibited.

But the tremendous power of "the party" began to be exerted. As time went on, and the canvass and registry of voters grew more perfect, it became more and more apparent that many who in July and August sympathized with the Prohibition party, began to close in with the old parties. The dread of being in the minority was openly announced. Men who prided themselves on their independence ridiculed their neighbors for voting with the "Saint Johnnies," simply because they were a minority.

THE OHIO ELECTION.

The state election in Ohio afforded an opportunity of testing the respective strength of the parties. Great exertions had been made. Mr. Blaine spent the time from Sept. 27th to Oct. 13th, except a couple of days in West Virginia, in Ohio, traversing the state in every direction, by special trains, in company with leading politicians. No effort nor expense was spared. Everywhere and always he asserted that the protective tariff was the cause of all our prosperity, and if the republican party were defeated the tariff and our prosperity would depart together. He discussed nothing, but flattered the people and predicted disaster if he was not elected.

The party journals adopted a more varied treatment of the case. The *Toledo Blade*, edited by Mr. D. R. Locke, the celebrated "Nasby," had been for months shouting as a battle cry "Pulverize the Rum Power," and had won favor and importance by the enterprise and energy with which it defended and advocated Prohibition. Thousands of Prohibitionists encouraged the paper for the valuable work it was doing. But when the campaign opened, all its influence was exerted for Mr. Blaine, and all its efforts were put forth to create the impression that Prohibition would be postponed indefinitely if the republican party were defeated. This was a general cry with republican papers, although some of them at the same time were seeking to hold "the Germans" by asserting that the republican party had been and would continue to be, the guardian of "personal liberty." Contradictory as this may be it is one of the most obvious facts of this extraordinary campaign. The result of the state election in Ohio, no doubt, cost the National Prohibition ticket many votes. The small number of ballots cast for the state nominees discouraged many, who would have voted for Prohibition electors, had they foreseen that a large vote would be polled, but when Ohio came forward with only a little over 8,000 for Morris for Secretary of State, they imagined it was to be a repetition of the old story of only a faithful few, and with them they had not the courage to stand.

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS AND THE CHURCH.

The attitude of the religious press and of the church presents another amazing spectacle. The drift of church action had been

for years setting towards Prohibition. Total abstinence had passed into the category of accepted doctrines with the great mass of professed Christians. Prohibition had been favored in many ecclesiastical bodies, and in some the point was reached of expressing the practical truth that the political action of the citizen should harmonize with his theories on the subject. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church at its session in May, 1884, in Philadelphia, put on record the following deliverance adopted without opposition:

"The proper attitude of Christians toward this traffic is one of uncompromising opposition; and, while we do not presume to dictate to our people as to their political affiliations, we do express the opinion that they should not permit themselves to be controlled by party organizations that are managed in the interests of the liquor traffic."

This was endorsed with enthusiasm by various annual conferences, and nowhere adversely criticised.

But as the canvass progressed, it became more and more evident that the efforts of the republican leaders to secure the co-operation of the religious press and the church were to be successful. Cleveland's "moral leprosy" was worked for all there was in it, with a view to its effect upon the religious masses.

The seventh commandment never before seemed so sacred to the politicians, lay and ecclesiastic. The claim that the republican was the party of temperance, had given all the temperance legislation ever afforded the country, and was the only hope of the Prohibitionists, was also loudly repeated in church circles. It became convenient now to affirm, what republicans heretofore had been slow to admit, that it was the republican party that gave Prohibition to Kansas and Iowa. These claims were reinforced by the plea that the freedmen of the South would suffer untold injustice if Mr. Blaine should be defeated.

These appeals were not in vain. Made to honest, conscientious men whose prejudices were all in favor of the republican party, by trusted religious guides, the effects were immense. Perhaps nowhere was the sentiment more compactly put than in a resolution adopted by the Congregational ministers of Chicago, Oct. 6th, viz:

Resolved, That for the sake of the South, for the sake of this country, for the sake of temperance and Prohibition, for the sake of the family and the reform against polygamy, the election of James G. Blaine is the necessity of the hour.

Resolved, That the election of Cleveland would be a calamity, morally and physically.

Horace Greeley said that in political campaigns strong assertions were what won the day. This was fully illustrated in the campaign of 1884. The strong assertions of which the resolutions above are specimens, no matter how contradictory of the facts of history, carried the crowd. The absurdity of assuming that the

success of the republican party, which for twenty-four years, had winked at Mormon polygamy, had seated the polygamous delegate Cannon, in congress, and which could be goaded by popular clamour only up to the heroic point of "firing a paper wad at polygamy once in four years," was a "necessity of the hour," did not appear to this group of party worshippers. (It is due to the Congregational church to say that a strong minority refused to vote for the resolutions.)

The efforts to lay the church under contribution to the success of Mr. Blaine culminated in the famous interview of that gentleman with a group of ministers in New York City, October 29th, in which the Rev. Doctor Samuel D. Burchard was the principal speaker. It was an occasion prepared with great care and intended to produce a profound impression. The number of ministers "was variously estimated at from 200 to 1,000." (10.) Doctor James M. King presented to the assembled ministers the following resolutions which were adopted, viz.:

Resolved, 1st. That we believe that the triumph of the principles of the republican party is essential to the welfare of the country, and to the preservation of the results of the late civil strife, and consequently that the election of its representatives in the persons of the Hon. James G. Blaine and Gen. John A. Logan is imperative.

2nd. That we believe in the purity of the personal character of these standard bearers, and also believe in their trained capacity as statesmen to meet the claims of the high offices for which they are in nomination.

3rd. That we protest against the coronation of conceded personal impurity as represented in the head of the democratic ticket, and while we deplore the necessity we do not evade the responsibility of declaring our judgment to the world of this insult to Christian civilization embodied in such nomination for the presidency of the republic.

4th. That we are opposed to putting a premium on disloyalty as presented by the candidate for the vice presidency of the democratic party.

5th. That we exhort all well meaning and loyal citizens regardless of party, when purity is at stake, not by voting for the Prohibition candidate to cast a half vote for the democratic party with the semi-sanction of impurity and dissipation, nor to cast a whole vote for a man whose name is now the conspicuous synonym of incapacity and incontinency.

6th. That we exhort our fellow citizens to cast one vote for virtue in the home, for protection for the rights of the humblest citizens at home and abroad, for protection for American industries, for the settlement of international differences by arbitration, for the war against polygamy, for decent treatment of Indians, for the preservation of the results of the wars of the revolution and of the rebellion, for every sacred interest of our beloved country, by voting the republican ticket at the ensuing election. (11.)

After the adoption of the resolutions the clergymen went to the corridor on the first floor and Doctor Burchard standing by the side of Mr. Blaine, addressed him as follows, viz.:

"We are happy to welcome you to this city. You see here a representation of all denominations of this city. You see the large number that are represented. We are your friends Mr. Blaine, and notwithstanding all the calumnies which have been urged in the papers against you, we stand by your side. [Shouts of amen.] We expect to vote for you next Tuesday. We have higher expectations, which are that you will be the president of the United States, and that you will do honor to your name, to the United States, and to the high office you will occupy. We are republicans and don't propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with the party whose antecedents have been Rum, Romanism and Rebellion. We are loyal to our flag. We are loyal to you." (12.)

This address created an immense flutter. "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" resounded through the country and especially in New York and Brooklyn. It glared upon the people from transparencies. The excitement it created could be accounted for on the theory that a diligent effort to secure what was called the "Irish vote" was rendered abortive by this "infamously celebrated" alliteration. Many of Mr. Blaine's partisans regarded this as the true cause of his defeat.

The morning of Nov. 4th was rainy in most of the northern states. The total vote cast was 10,048,630, of which Mr. Blaine received 4,848,150, Mr. Cleveland 4,913,248, Mr. St. John 153,128 and Mr. Butler 133,728.

The electoral college consisted of 401 members and of these 219 were Cleveland, and 182 Blaine electors. This result was reached after a week of anxious verification of the vote of New York which was at last declared to be for Mr. Cleveland by a plurality of 1,140. (13.)

THE POLITICS OF THE W. C. T. UNION.

As there has been much said of the alleged new departure of the National W. C. T. U. by which it "became a political institution," and so "lost its power for good," and put itself in such an attitude that "the church could no longer consistently give the aid it had formerly done," we have been at special pains to get the facts, and to present the exact attitude of that organization.

Among the early creations of the society there was a "Department of Legislation and Petitions," and Mrs. J. Ellen Foster was at its head. In October, 1880, at the annual meeting held that year in Boston, Massachusetts, occurs the earliest reference to party action afforded by the society. It is in Mrs. Foster's report and is as follows:

"The two great political parties of the country, in their national manifestos are silent on the relation of the state to the traffic, though in some instances their utterances may be construed to disapprove the expediency of Prohibition, or even to insinuate against its rightfulness. These parties have, however, in a few instances, in their state platforms distinctly pronounced for or against Prohibition, or for the right of the whole people to settle the question by the popular vote, in constitutional law,

The National Prohibition party alone meets the question squarely on its merits, and places at the head of its ticket the Hon. Neal Dow, himself the very embodiment of Prohibition doctrine."

In October, 1881, the national convention of the W. C. T. U. was held in Washington City. Here appeared for the first time Mrs. Sallie F. Chapin, of South Carolina, and eloquently plead for a union of hearts and hands in the cause of Prohibition. Among the utterances of that occasion bearing upon the question the following are worthy to be remembered. The first is from Mrs. Foster's report for the year 1881, and is as follows:

"How long can this ghastly farce go on? How long ere the cup of wrath be full? When we consider the causes that have brought about such defeat to legislation in the interests of temperance, we find both the great political parties of the country adverse to such legislation, either because they *do not desire or do not dare to give it*. In occasional instances one or other of the parties has, with more or less zeal, championed the cause. In Kansas and Iowa the dominant party gave the question of constitutional prohibition to the people. In North Carolina the same party defeated Prohibition, though the governor, a democrat, favored it. To what do the logic of events and the philosophy of things lead us?

• Prohibitory legislation, national and state, can only be permanently secured through the agency of a *political party making this its central idea*. We hail with thankful hearts such political organization in state and nation."

No one knew better than Mrs. Foster how legislation was "defeated" by parties which either "did not desire or did not dare to give it." The illustrations of consenting to give the legislation and then to defeat Prohibition by a failure to enforce the law were reserved for a later date.

The address of the President, Miss F. E. Willard, also very fully sets forth views which were rapidly gaining the adhesion of the most thoughtful women in the great society of which she is the leader. The following extract is in point:

THE HOME PROTECTION PARTY.

When the National Prohibition party held its convention in Cleveland, in 1880, women were invited to attend as delegates. But, while I admired the progressive spirit thus indicated, it seemed to me clearly my duty not to go. Always profoundly interested in politics as the mightiest force on earth except Christianity, and trained to be a staunch republican, both my education and sympathies were arrayed on Garfield's side. Besides, I labored under the hallucination that the South secretly waited its opportunity to reopen the issues of the war. During all that stormy summer of the presidential campaign, I did not hear Neal Dow's candidacy spoken of with interest by the workers of the W. C. T. U., and yet we all honored and gloried in that brave father of the Maine law. In contrast to the apathy with which we regarded the "third party" movement, you will remember the profound enthusiasm that greeted General Garfield's name at our annual meeting in Boston, and that, later on, we hailed his election as an answered prayer.

Dear Sisters, since then, by your commission, I have visited the southern states and met in every one of them representatives

and leaders of opinion. I have seen their acceptance in good faith of the issues of the war—a good faith sufficiently attested by the great loyalty they invariably manifested toward President Garfield, in spite of his army record, his radical utterances in congress, and the uncompromising tone of his clear-cut inaugural. I have seen northern capital pouring into those once-disaffected states in uncounted millions, and I know there is no stronger bridge across the “bloody chasm” than this one woven out of national coin and supported by the iron-jointed cables of self interest. I have seen their legislatures making state appropriations for the education of the freedmen and helping to sustain those “colored schools” whose New England teachers they once despised. I have learned how ex-masters cheered to the echo the utterances of their ex-slaves in the great Prohibition convention, of North Carolina, and my heart has glowed with the hope of a real “home government” for the South, and a “color line broken” not by bayonets nor repudiationists, but by ballots from white hands and black for prohibitory law. Seeing is believing, and on that sure basis I believe the South is ready for a party along the lines of longitude, a party that shall wipe Mason and Dixon’s line out of the heart as well as off the map, weld the Anglo-Saxons of the New World into one royal family, and give us a really re-United States. With what deep significance is this belief confirmed by the South’s tender sympathy in the last pathetic summer, and the unbroken group of states that so lately knelt around our fallen hero’s grave!

But this new party cannot bear the name of republican or democrat. Neither victor nor vanquished would accept the old war-cry of a section. Besides, “the party of moral ideas” has ceased to have a distinctive policy. Was its early motto “Free Territory?” We have realized it. Later did it declare that the Union must be preserved and slavery abolished? Both have been done. Did it demand negro enfranchisement and the passage of a bill of civil rights? Both are accomplished facts, so far as they can be until education completes the desired work. Was the redemption of our financial pledges essential to good faith? That noble record of the republican party cannot be erased. If we contemplate questions still unsettled, as civil service reform—both parties claim to desire it; or a national fund for southern education—each deems it necessary. But when we name the greatest issue now pending on this or any continent—the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a drink—behold the republicans of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont vote for, and the republicans of North Carolina, Ohio and Illinois against it, while the democrats of Kansas oppose, and of South Carolina favor it! Now I blame neither party for this inconsistency; it is simply the handwriting on the wall, which tells that both are weighed in the balances and found wanting. For they are formed of men who, while they thought alike and fought alike on many great questions, on this greatest of all questions are hopelessly divided, and “a house divided against itself cannot stand.” This is saying nothing whatever against the house, it is recognizing the law of gravitation, that is all. In 1861 slavery was the determining factor in American politics. In 1881 that final factor is the liquor traffic. Then, while the Prohibitionists of Maine marched to the front with Gen. Neal Dow, the Germans were proud “to fight mit Sigel;” but to-day the bayonets of those two champions and their followers no longer point one way. Gen. Sigel approved the brewers’ Sabbath-breaking demonstration at Newark, and Gen. Dow is the chief defender of a law which shuts such men up in jail. John B. Gough and Philip Best, the

brewer, voted the self-same ticket; so did Gov. St. John, of Kansas, and "Boss Hering," editor of the *Staats Zeitung*, of Chicago. But it is morally impossible that they should do so now. The republican party in Ohio and Illinois can only win through German votes. Hence we behold legislatures as they bow the knee, and municipal authorities as they grovel in the dust, crying with one accord, "Great is Gambrinus, of the Teutonians!" Nay more; to-day Gov. Jarvis, of North Carolina, fights for Prohibition in the same ranks with Gov. Plaisted, of Maine, and all through the North and South the men once at sword's points are now, upon the temperance question, sworn allies.

"But don't take temperance into politics," is the cry of sundry surface thinkers. I wish every one of these delegates would read Miss Victor's pamphlet on that question, and for this purpose have arranged for its free distribution here. I am proud that a woman—and a southern woman, too—should have furnished us this earliest and ablest of campaign documents. It will be a discovery to some that, since Beer is already in the political arena shaking its fists, Temperance must go forth to the encounter or fail to exhibit David's faith in presence of Goliath! "How will you vote on the question of beer?" is the shibboleth of the majority in the republican party to-day. By the explicit and unanimous resolutions of every Liquor Dealers' Association from Boston to San Francisco, they put the candidates on trial of their lives. And, as you read Miss Victor's pamphlet, you will see that from the year of their organization in 1862 until to-day, the brewers' wing of the Liquor League "has issued in the caucus and at the polls commands which the republican party in congress has scrupulously obeyed." And yet, in this great organization are enough Temperance men to hold the balance of power, but they are only members of the great body, and accept the candidates chosen by leaders whom they have so long followed that party allegiance seemed to be second nature to them. For, a party is like some huge, masterful, aggressive man; the head thinks out its orders and the limbs execute them. But when beer has muddled the head, and the right hand caresses the enemy which the left hand attempts to crush, there is no more absurd figure above ground. In this imbecile attitude stands the republican party of to-day, while at the north the democratic openly espouses the cause of the saloons, against which in the south it is beginning to contend. And yet, in the magnificent arena of public opinion, opposing parties are the only gladiators worthy of the scene, and upon their victory or defeat depends the weal or woe of nations.

We point to the non-partisan homage of which our murdered President is the subject, but we must not forget that when fifty millions gathered around his dying couch, it was to lament over a man who was one of the most loyal partisan leaders of his day, a man, too, whose name they would never have heard except as he became the standard bearer of the party which for a generation had never known defeat.

No, parties are the moulds into which God pours the principles that are to bless humanity. But when these have crystallized into the law and life of a people God breaks the mould for which he has no further use. Parties, like men, travel the long road from cradle to coffin, but, unfortunately, when dead they are not so sure of burial as men. In Illinois we have two that sadly need interment. Parties are organic—they grow by gradual accretions, and require nourishment and care. As a whirlwind begins with a few leaves or articles of dust, so a party begins with a few individuals, often

obscure, but if God's breath sets them in motion, the widening and ascending spiral of their progress draws in the multitudes. But parties have their best analogy in well-disciplined armies, under intelligent and faithful leadership. First the soldiers must be recruited, one by one, for a well understood contest against a foe detested by them all. Our Temperance woman have been petitioning legislatures which were, as a rule, companies of soldiers enlisted for no other purpose than to defeat their measures. Is it any wonder we have grown tired of it and decided to invest our valuable time where it promises better results—namely, in recruiting, one by one, from the people of the country, soldiers committed to the proposition, "*The saloon must go!*"

But in a military exigency recruiting is not enough. The commander is obliged to order a draft including those ordinarily exempt from service. Precisely this crisis is upon us, and our most experienced leaders, both men and women, have called out the *Home Guards*, the gentle, soft-voiced creatures who are afraid of guns and gunpowder, but who, upon a moral battle-ground, can march side by side with the gallant and the strong. Behold the two armies deploying now for the most glorious conflict this world has ever seen—one side marches from distilleries, breweries, saloons, the other from churches, school and homes!

LAKE BLUFF PLATFORM.

Believing that the hour had come for us, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Illinois, at its annual meeting nearly two months ago, endorsed the following action of the Lake Bluff Convocation, held a few days earlier, and composed of representative Temperance men and women from twelve different states:

"The union of the best elements of the north and south upon the principles of the Temperance reform is a happy omen of the destruction of that sectionalism which is so dangerous to the welfare of our country, and which is the cause of bitterness, wrangling and corruption.

"A political party, whose platform is based on constitutional and statutory prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages in the state and the nation, is a necessity, and to give those who suffer most from the drink curse a power to protect themselves, their homes and their loved ones, the complete enfranchisement of women should be *worked for* and welcomed.

"The Temperance people of the several states should call conventions for the purpose of organizing in every state a Home Protection party upon the basis of the foregoing article.

"We hereby authorize the officers of this convocation to carry out the provisions of the foregoing article by correspondence with prohibition leaders and the calling of National, State and Legislative Home Protection conventions."

In many a meeting of our Temperance women I have seen the power of the Highest manifest, but in none has the glow of crusade fire been so blessed as when these daughters of heroic sires who in the early days of the great party whose defection we deplore, endured reproach without the camp, solemnly declared their loyalty to the Home Protection party, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Let me read you the statement of doctrine to which we women of Illinois subscribed:

"We recommend that, looking to the composition of the next legislature, we request and aid the Home Protection party to put in nomination in each district a Home-Protection candidate, committed

not more by his specific promise than by his well-known character to vote for the submission of a constitutional amendment giving the full ballot to the women of Illinois as a means of protection to their homes.

"Finally to these advance positions we have been slowly and surely brought by the logic of events and the argument of defeat in our seven years' march since the crusade. We have patiently appealed to existing parties, only to find our appeals disregarded. We now appeal to the manhood of our state to go forward in the name of God, and Home and Native Land."

Ten days later the liquor league of Illinois held its convention, the day being universally observed by our Unions in that state in fervent prayer that God would send confusion and defeat as the sequel of their machinations. Let me read you their declaration:

"Resolved, That the District Executive Committees be instructed to make a vigorous fight against all such candidates for the General Assembly, no matter what political party they may belong to, who cannot be fully relied upon to vote in favor of personal liberty and an equal *protection* of ours with all other legitimate business interests."

They want protection, too! and they know the legislature alone can give it. But we know, as the result of our Local Home Protection ordinance, under which women have voted in nearly a dozen widely separated localities of Illinois, and have voted overwhelmingly against license, that our enfranchisement means confusion and defeat to the liquor sellers. Therefore, since for this we have prayed, we must take our places at the front and say, with the greatest reformer of the sixteenth century:

"Here I stand. I can do no other. God help me. Amen."

The "Home Protectionists" have slung their banner to the breeze in Illinois, inscribed with the motto, "Falter who must, follow who dare!" The W. C. T. Unions of Maine, New Hampshire and Delaware have wheeled into line beside us, which we regard as the best possible endorsement of our action; while the Vermont, Pennsylvania and Michigan Unions have sent us hearty greetings. This, then, is our response, to you, brave men of Ohio, who have dared to break away from party leadership, and who in your June convention asked the help of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. We are here and we hope that since we have come over to your principles you will graciously condescend to take our name, "Home Protection" being a dearer word to us than Prohibition even, since it also includes the idea of placing in our weaponless hands those munitions of war, so mighty for the pulling down of the enemy's stronghold.

In conclusion let me ask your careful thought to these considerations:

First. The formation of this party, or, if its leaders so determine, the rechristening of the Prohibition party under a name sure to enlist more of our women workers, because it emphasizes their enfranchisement, will place the work done by us for that end under the auspices of a political party. This has long been claimed by our conservative sisters as a consummation devoutly to be wished. They have declared their willingness to use the ballot whenever it should be placed in their hands, and notably in New York. Massachusetts and Vermont have nobly bestirred themselves to exercise their new right to vote on questions connected with the public schools. But they have not been willing to join those of us who made the Home Protection Ballot an article of our faith as mem-

bers of the W. C. T. U. Now, however, for a party whose candidates must, of course, be men, but which welcomes us to its primaries and conventions, those of us whose convictions compel us so to do, can work to our hearts' content, investing for its success the time we once spent in the vain attempt to persuade unfriendly legislatures, and going directly to the *individual voter* with a pledge of his allegiance to the Home Protection candidate.

Second. In states where a constitutional amendment is pending, as in Iowa and Indiana, we can hold this party in abeyance until they reach a final decision, which will be within two years. But, meanwhile, the pressure of this new movement, as carried forward in adjoining states, will react favorably upon our temperance friends who can not as yet affiliate with us for political action.

Third. In some states it may be deemed best to make constitutional and statutory Prohibition the main issues, and woman's vote subsidiary. This will be for the leaders in each state to determine. While at first our southern friends may hold aloof from the latter movement, and should not be prematurely urged to join it, a few more defeats like that in North Carolina (resulting from the vote of ignorant colored republicans under party leadership), may perhaps lead them to apply to the ballot an educational pre-requisite, and summon to their aid in this non-sectional and prohibitory party of which I speak, their mothers, wives and daughters.

Fourth. The men who will naturally unite in this party will also strongly support civil service reform, anti-monopoly and anti-Mormon legislation; and commit the organization heartily to the cause of national and compulsory education. The best elements of the disintegrating parties of the past will gravitate toward this; from their outworn hulls the sound timbers will help make up our life rafts.

Very soon this new "party of great moral ideas" will hold the balance of power. When we see a David Davis or a Mahone determining which of two existing parties shall aspire to national ascendancy, when we review the record of the greenbackers in and out of congress, the prediction should not seem to us absurd that ere long our new party will hold the balance of power. At first, perhaps, this will occur in some obscure but carefully canvassed locality, later in a state, and finally by the inevitable sequence of party evolution, in the nation itself.

Here, then, at the nation's capital, let us declare our allegiance; here let us turn our faces toward the beckoning future; here, where the liquor traffic pours in each year its revenue of gold, stained with the blood of our dearest and best, let us set up our Home Protection standard in the name of the Lord!"

In 1882 the national convention met in Louisville, Ky. We find the following presented by Mrs. L. H. Carhart, president of Iowa W. C. T. U., and chairman of the Committee on Resolutions:

"We rejoice in the day that gives recognition to our political principles by political partisans, and we will endeavor to influence the best men in all communities to commit themselves to that party, by whatever name called, that shall give to them the best embodiment of prohibition principles and will most surely protect our homes."

This was heartily adopted by the convention.

At Detroit in 1883 this subject again occupied attention, and we find the following unanimously adopted:

"We will lend our influence to that party by whatever name called which shall furnish the best embodiment of prohibition principles, and will most surely protect our homes."

We also find in the report of Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, for 1883, superintendent of legislation and petitions, the following, viz.:

"Every temperance woman ought to oppose, by voice and influence the action of any party in which it ignores or refuses to submit this question of prohibitory and constitutional amendment to the votes of the people. She ought also to support the action of any party wherein it commands its representatives to thus aid the people in the expression of their will. In some instances this will lead women contrary to their otherwise political preferences, but since we believe the prohibition of the liquor traffic to be the subject of paramount importance, we are justified in so doing. We do not thus give ourselves to the support of any party as a party, but we do follow wherever we see the white banner of prohibition. Do not be afraid of the charge of partisanship. A grand manifesto for principle will be of no avail unless the living personality of human effort makes it effective. The grand chorus of majorities, as in unison they cry, "the saloon must go," shall possess no coercive force unless that unison merged into legislative, judicial, executive harmony, and guided by the baton of a political party, shall take up the strain and still sing on: "the saloon must go, the saloon shall go, and by our hand its power is broken." God forbid that any temperance woman should, with doubt or discord weaken the strain or cause the time to drag.

The force of the material world is applied by machinery; the cause of God among men is advanced by human hands; the Christian church conserves its interests through denominations; any great principle of governmental science which seeks recognition of legislation must be championed by some political party. The temperance reform is of full age; it has met an honest recognition from science, from philanthropy, from Christianity, and now espoused by the dominant thought of a Christian nation, it waits in the temple of our civilization for the solemn rites which shall forever enthrone it in the hearts and homes of our people."

In view of the National conventions to occur during the ensuing year a memorial was ordered to be presented to each national nominating convention. This was done. Miss Williard, the president, visited the conventions in order first the "greenback" at Indianapolis, then the republican, June 3, at Chicago (see page 24); then the democratic, July 8, also at Chicago; and, finally, the "Prohibition Home Protection at Pittsburg, July 23, (see page 45.) By none of these, except the last, was the prayer of this memorial answered by a platform favoring the submission of a constitutional prohibitory amendment, while the democratic convention openly opposed the movement. The W. C. T. U then declared through its general officers in favor of "lending its influence" to the Prohibition party; most of the state conventions, (all delegated bodies, representing the sentiment of the local Unions) did the same. The *Union Signal*, the national organ of the W. C. T. U., a paper of great influence, was strong and convincing in its utterances. Thus surely and strongly the tide set towards the formal

endorsement of the Prohibition party at the approaching national convention in October, 1884. This was held in the city of St. Louis, Oct. 22 to 25. The presidential campaign was at its height. In accordance with the policy of the republican politicians every effort was made to silence this great organization on the political situation. There did not appear to be any hope of securing the aid of the body for Mr. Blaine, but it was thought it might be put into a neutral position. The amount of sage advice, delicate flattery, impassioned, pleading, patronizing suggestion, solemn warning bestowed upon this company of un-enfranchised citizens to keep them from making the announcement which all knew to be the only one consistent with the history of the organization will never be known. It was even attempted to bring some force to bear in this direction; some churches were refused unless the officers of the society would agree to be silent on the political situation. This was firmly declined. A place to hold the convention was however found and this group of remarkable women, representing more trained working power, more intelligent conviction than was ever before assembled in a convention of women proceeded with their work.

In her annual address the political situation was reviewed by Miss Williard as follows, viz. :

It is no new thing for us to "lend our influence" to a party. Practically, we have never done anything else. In local elections we have prayed, talked and circulated literature for the side that favored no license, and we have done nothing more than that now, save to accept the courtesy of an invitation to sundry state and one national convention, courtesy we should doubtless have accepted from other parties, save for the very good reason that it was not proffered! How many hundred letters I have filed away, from our members, saying: "By dint of hard work we elected two temperance councilmen; we failed to secure Mr. ——— for mayor by only a few votes;" or, "We have elected a majority of the city council;" for, although not voters, our women ally themselves so thoroughly with the party that takes up the cause of prohibition that they always say "we." The same is true of states, for even in the constitutional amendment campaign there must always be a party to *submit* the amendment, and after it is gained, a party to *enforce* it; so that, except in the brief interval during which it is before the people, the whole Genesis and Exodus of constitutional prohibition is a party measure, as no one knows better than our sisters from states which have either attempted or achieved this form of legislation; hence the W. C. T. U., if it would work at all for legal measures, must do so by "lending its influence" to a party.

The same rule holds in national movements; and when our great society, deliberating upon its duty at the Louisville convention two years ago, and last year at the Detroit convention, adopted a resolution to "lend its influence to that party which should furnish the best embodiment of prohibition principles," it but acted in its national capacity, as its state auxiliaries and their branches had been acting for ten years. It introduced no innovation but walked by the same rule, and minded the same thing it had be-

doing in its slow, sure progress since the crusade. That the justice, propriety and logical necessity of such action should have been questioned, not in the quietness of those conventions, but in the storm of this campaign, has inexpressibly surprised me, and I am confident we have but to wait patiently till "the mists have cleared away," when the universal verdict will be that we did right. In the view of criticisms made upon us by some of our friends, it has occurred to me that if the now dominant party had been declared by us that "best embodiment" our partisanship would not have seemed so virulent. Alas for human nature! the test is still apt to be in politics as in religion, that orthodoxy is "my doxy" and heterodoxy "yours." * * * * *

Let us clearly define our relation to the movement: It is the same as the Good Templars, whose chief officer, John B. Finch, is chairman of the Executive Committee of the Prohibition party. The Good Templars, *as individuals*, may be component members of the party, but, as societies, they lend their influence, their good will, good word—and, if any society shall so choose, their good work—to help advance its fortunes. We do the same—no less, no more. As a national society we could only lend our influence to a *national* party. Could we consistently decline to do so after its acceptance of our memorial, whose prayer had been everywhere else denied? Frankly to ally itself with this movement will not injure any state auxiliary in its effort to secure constitutional prohibition. We shall be respected for our consistency, and feared because of our influence, by party leaders who know our power to reduce their majorities. Iowa's example should not be lost upon us. The Prohibition vote there was confessedly the precursor of the constitutional amendment. It is the one form of prohibition that politicians dread. Where a man's ballot registers his plea, party leaders must pay it respect. One candidate who incarnates our principles is of more political value to our cause than ten thousand signatures to a petition. But great petitions are great educators of the people, and have always been followed by new party alignments. A Prohibition candidate is like a lightning rod—he draws the electricity of public sentiment on the question of which he is the exponent. Embodied issues are sure to condense public thought. What strife of tongues rages around the Prohibition candidates to-day, and what definiteness and force is given to the movement by their personality! President Julius Seelye, in Massachusetts; David Preston, in Michigan; Samuel D. Hastings, in Wisconsin; James B. Hobbs, in Illinois; John Brooks, in Missouri; how sharply defined are these heroic figures whom the people can not choose but see! And those brave champions yonder in the thickest of the fight—John P. St. John and William Daniel—how loyal to them, in this hour of trial, are the hearts of our temperance women! This cause will grow until we have no more a solid North against a solid South, but rejoice in a non-sectional majority solid for Prohibition. It takes a great cause to move a great people. *Protection for the home is that cause and America that people.*

Let me quote the language of a recent address to the Brewers and Maltsters' Association of New York, by its president. Having spoken of Maine, Kansas and Iowa, he says: "Happily in New York we have little to fear so long as this question remains a state issue. But I should feel that I was neglecting my duty as president of this association did I not call your attention to the influences that are striving, with a patience and industry that we might well emulate, to make the question of Prohibition a national

issue, and to urge upon you the necessity of exercising the same care in supporting candidates for national offices, as you do in reference to state and local candidates. Let us be fully alive to the issues of the day."

I have seldom seen a statement so pointedly proving the need of a Prohibition party as the following, from Hon. C. C. Bonney, of Chicago, president of the National Citizens' League. He says:

"There is nothing more astounding in American history, from the treason of Arnold to the murder of Garfield, than the neglect and refusal of the officers charged with the enforcement of the laws and protection of the people, to enforce the acts of thirty state legislatures for the restriction of the worst evils of the liquor traffic, and the prohibition of the sale of intoxicants to the young, who are regarded, under our system of government, as not having the judgment and discretion requisite to protect themselves. The statement that hundreds of liquor saloons are found whose chief business consisted of sales made to minors, staggers human credulity, but it still stands uncontroverted, the blackest accusation yet made against the civilization of our age.

The fact of non-enforcement being admitted, philanthropy, patriotism and justice demand that its cause be discovered, made known and removed. The task is not difficult. The secret of the non-enforcement must be sought in the relation of the liquor traffic to the public authorities whose duty it is to take care that the laws be obeyed. It is readily found in the actual or supposed political power of the persons engaged in the liquor traffic. They command a certain desperate, reckless and servile vote—a vote that obeys orders and asks no questions. They cast that vote against all candidates for public office who do not favor the liquor traffic; if no candidate is so opposed, in favor of that one who is most favorable to it. Hence, candidates who feared or believed that they could not be elected without the saloon keepers' support, have made the pledges necessary to secure it, and in fulfilling such pledges have sacrificed the public welfare and left unpunished the creatures who, by the sale of intoxicating liquors to minors, thrive on the ruin of the young. That such bargains for political support constitute the vilest form of bribery and corruption need hardly be said, for no other political infamy could surpass that of a practical surrender of the souls and bodies of children to the saloon keepers in return for their votes."

Republicans and democrats *must* throw a sop to that Cerberus of perdition, the saloon; must be half-hearted in their allegiance to our cause; must pander to the liquor men who, under the spur of self-interest, are sure to desert if the party does not consider them, rather than conciliate the temperance men on whom they can much more confidently count to stand by them, even though the petitions of women (as in Illinois) are rolled into balls and tossed derisively from hand to hand by legislators under the dome of the capitol. For these parties are made up of elements which, while practically harmonious on the issues of the past, are utterly discordant on the issues of the present. Hence, it is only by reviving the past that they can hold together at all. They are political armies recruited upon a muster-roll at the head of which the word Prohibition was not written, and how can we expect them to take up our cause save in a few exceptional states? No army ever yet did effective service when its soldiers were utterly disagreed as to the standards to be carried, the leaders to be followed and the issues to be fought.

These extracts clearly define the issue. It was not new. It had been the most prominent theme of discussion. Miss Mary A. West, President of the Illinois State W. C. T. U., calls attention to the fact that the first constitution of the National society adopted in 1874 thus states the objects of the society:

"The education of the young; the formation of a better public sentiment; the reformation of the drinking classes; the transformation by the power of Divine Grace of those who are enslaved by alcohol; *and the removal of the dram-shops from our streets by law.*" And the history of the society shows that it never lost sight of its original plan. While pulling victims out of the stream of death with an energy which should shame the church, it never ceased to point out the place where legalized enemies of mankind were pushing them in. The work done for Prohibition by these women since 1874 is enormous. The mistake they made was in saying what they meant, and in sticking to it. If they had only passed their resolutions in the "Pickwickian sense" and "followed the white banner of Prohibition" only inside of republican party lines, they could then have stood peaceably if not proudly, beside their Christian brothers. Their notices could still have been read in the churches and the contributions to their treasury could have continued undisturbed.

The resolution so dreaded by the politicians came up for action on the 28th of October, the fourth day of the session. It is as follows:

"21. We refer to the history of ten years of persistent moral suasion work as fully establishing our claim to be called a non-political society, but one which steadily follows the white banner of Prohibition wherever it may be displayed. We have, however, as individuals, always allied ourselves in local and state political contests with those voters whose efforts and ballots have been given to the removal of the dram-shop and its attendant evils, and at this time, while recognizing that our action as a national society is not binding upon states or individuals, we re-affirm the positions taken by the society both at Louisville, in 1882, and at Detroit, in 1883, pledging our influence to "that party by whatever name called, which shall furnish us the best embodiment of prohibition principles, and will most surely protect our homes." And as we now know which national party gives us the desired embodiment of the principles for which our ten years' labor has been expended, we will continue to lend our influence to the national political organization which declares in its platform for National Prohibition and Home Protection. In this, as in all our progressive effort, we will endeavor to meet argument with argument, misjudgment with patience, denunciation with kindness, and all our difficulties and dangers with prayer.

The discussion was remarkable for ability, and still more for courtesy and Christian charity. Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, of Iowa was the main opponent of the resolution, and her great and recognized ability never shone more conspicuously. But on the other side, Mrs. Mary T. Lathrap, of Michigan, brought equal ability to bear, and was ably supported by Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge, of Ohio, Mrs. C. B. Buell and many others.

But back of any ability manifested on the floor was the fact that a large part of the delegates came up from states whose conventions had already agreed to favor the Prohibition party. This,

with the additional fact that the society had grown up under the leadership of Miss Frances E. Willard, Mesdames Foster, Lathrap, Woodbridge, Stevens, Buell, Pugh, who have been recognized leaders so long that those who differed from them had dropped away from the W. C. T. U. Mrs. Wittenmyer and her friends, who withdrew in 1881 are examples of this class. Whatever there is of the organization is what has crystalized around the present officers. They have by their work, their personality, and by the logic of events drawn together the nearly 100,000 women who compose the National W. C. T. U. These women are associated because of the doctrines which had been preached by Miss Willard and those who agreed with her. And there had been no uncertain sound from her lips. She stood for organized political action; for a party which should enfranchise women and suppress the liquor traffic. There was some revolt, but Miss Willard was re-elected president at Washington, in 1881, with only twenty-five opposing votes; at Louisville, 1882, not one; at Detroit, in 1883, with four, and St. Louis, 1884, with fourteen out of 341 votes cast.

That one so able and so long identified with the society as Mrs. Foster should be able to secure but forty-eight votes on such an issue as she favored, is surprising. She did not antagonize the doctrines of her old time associates. Her position was that the republican party was at heart loyal to temperance, and would be found true if the Prohibitionists would be patient and not desert it in this crisis. She, like the others, insisted that Prohibition, to be effective, required a party, but the republican could be made that party. She felt sure that if the influence of the W. C. T. U. and of all temperance men were exerted upon the party from within, the "dumb devil" might be driven out of it. Four fifths of the women believed that the "dumb devil" could be cast out only by a power working outside the party, and so by a vote of 195 to 48 they adopted the 21st resolution and gave their "influence" to the Prohibition party.

Those who charge that the W. C. T. U. made a change at St. Louis which justified the disapproval of the church, must do so in ignorance of the facts, or in defiance of them. The refusal of some churches to give countenance and aid to the society after the election, on the ground that it had become "political" is one which appears very absurd when the facts are known, and still more absurd when placed alongside of the resolutions of the Congregational ministers of Chicago, or the resolutions of the New York ministers for whom Dr. Burchard was the spokesman. It is all right to give your influence to *our* party, but if you give it to another party you fall from grace.

This action did not mean giving money from the W. C. T. U. treasury to that of the Prohibition party; it could not mean votes

until that party should, as in loyalty and duty bound, enfranchise its devoted allies, but it meant brain-power, heart-power, voice-power, pen-power, prayer-power, dedicated to those voters, and to those alone, who will make prohibition of the liquor traffic the central object at which they aim their ballots.

Nor did this mean putting aside other lines of work. The W. C. T. U. has always recognized that to educate public sentiment from youth to age is its God-given mission. Hence its thirty-five distinct departments, grouped under the head of preventive, educational, evangelistic, social, *legal* and organizing work. But while it steadily maintains all, never more vigorously than now, it has the keen vision to perceive that no education is more rapid or efficient than that which comes by the incarnation of principles in men who stand forth as candidates and focus public thought by means of public discussion.

So far from being set back in its work, the W. C. T. U. is now having the most effective year of its earnest and beneficent life. Quietly and gently going on its way, "With malice toward none and charity for all," its work in legislatures for scientific instruction, prohibitory law and woman's ballot, is going forward with unexcelled energy, while its gospel work is in full tide of success, and its vigorous organizing forces were never more persistently or efficiently at work. For the first few weeks there was an interruption in this aggressive movement, but the good sense of good people has prevailed over the narrowness of leaders. Had this not been so, however, no halt would have been called by the brave women who at St. Louis "sounded forth a trumpet that shall never call retreat." To them we may fittingly apply the words of Marshal Ney in the crisis of battle, "THE OLD GUARD DIES BUT NEVER SURRENDERS."

ATTACKS UPON MR. ST. JOHN.

In our account of the campaign, we referred briefly to the persistent attempts which have been made to blacken the character of the Prohibition nominee for the presidency. These arose, doubtless, from two sources. First—an insane idea that if this could be accomplished the Prohibition movement would be checked—and, Second—in vindictiveness and anger caused by the outcome of the election.

The first of these attempts was made a few days prior to the election, and consisted in a charge, widely published in republican papers, that, about thirty-two years ago, St. John deserted his wife without any reasonable cause or provocation; that a divorce was granted the wife on the ground of desertion; that St. John treated the wife with great cruelty and heartlessness, and refused absolutely to do anything for the support of the son who had been born to them. These charges came with a flourish of trumpets in

the way of affidavits from the step-father and mother of the wife, and were thus made to look the blackest possible.

Coming at the time it did, too late to be met by counter affidavits, the animus of this charge was so apparent that it failed entirely to produce the intended effect. Probably no volume of campaign mud was ever thrown with less force or fell flatter than this. That Mr. St. John had married at the age of nineteen, and that a separation and divorce soon followed, had never been a secret. When the matter appeared in the republican papers, St. John was called upon by a reporter for the *New York Times*, and the following is what he had to say about it:

"I was married in 1852, in Richland county, Illinois, and my wife and I separated two months later. She afterward applied for a divorce and alimony. My lawyers filed a cross bill, setting forth grounds that I do not care now to repeat. Afterward the matter was amicably arranged by the attorneys. The cross bill was withdrawn and a decree was entered granting her a divorce. There was nothing directly or indirectly in connection with the matter that was dishonorable on my part, or that subjected me to the condemnation of my friends and neighbors. I was only nineteen years one month and three days old at the time of my first marriage. My first wife, shortly after getting the divorce, married again and continued, I think, to live with her husband until ten or fifteen years ago, when she died. By this marriage I became the father of a son who was born about ten and a half months after we had married. All allegations that I ever failed to do my duty as a husband, or that I neglected in any manner to care for my boy, are absolutely and maliciously false. On the contrary, I provided for my boy's education, and took him to my home, where he remained reading law with me until he was finally admitted to practice. He was shortly thereafter married, and I have at times since aided him whenever he needed it, and I procured him a position as chief clerk in the law department of the general land office in Washington at a salary of \$2,000 a year, which position he now holds. My early domestic troubles have been no secret whatever, but have been the subject of campaign scandal before. One month ago to-day, upon invitation of the citizens of Richland county, Illinois, where all this occurred, I addressed a meeting of fully 3,000 of my old friends and neighbors. I also, upon their invitation, two years ago last May, delivered the address upon the occasion of the decoration of the soldier's graves at the cemetery in the town where I was married, and have, upon two or three other occasions, at the request of the people there, delivered public addresses. If I have an enemy in that county except the ones who made the affidavits published in the *Tribune*, I do not know it. I was married to my second wife twenty-five years ago and she has borne me three children, two of whom are alive and grown. My domestic relations have been always pleasant and my dear wife a source of strength to me at all times. This whole matter is simply a revival of old, worn-out campaign mud, which has been thrown time and again before, but it was reserved until the close of the campaign now, knowing as its instigators did, that it would be too late to meet it with counter affidavits before the election. It is characteristic of the plan upon which the present republican campaign is conducted."

Thus ended this dreary attempt to make political capital out

of nothing, and reduce the Prohibition candidate to the low moral plane occupied by the candidates of the republican and democratic parties.

The next attempt to crush St. John came some time in the latter part of November, subsequent to the election, and first appeared in the *Philadelphia Press*. In its results it proved most disastrous to its originators, as will appear from a recital of some of the facts. The general accusation was that Mr. St. John attempted to sell out to the republicans, and that, failing in this, he had accepted a bribe from the democrats, and, in consideration of a stipulated sum, had agreed to remain in the field, and thus aid the democratic by drawing off votes from the republican candidate.

This charge is sufficiently answered by the statement heretofore made, that Mr. St. John did not deviate from the course marked out by the National Executive Committee, from the opening to the close of his campaign. But other measures were at once taken to expose the infamous falsehood. The *American Reformer* published an editorial, putting a number of pointed questions to the *Press*, but without provoking a satisfactory reply. The results of its efforts are briefly summed up in its issue of December 20th, as follows:

A SILENT ANANIAS.

"Three copies of our editorial on 'The Press and the Prohibition Party,' under three different covers, were sent to the *Philadelphia Press*, two of them being addressed to its editor, in sealed envelopes, and one of these accompanied by a private note, written at the request of certain gentlemen named by us, demanding that *The Press* answer those questions which in our editorial were put. Two weeks have elapsed, and *The Press*, which assumes the rank of a first class daily paper, and boasts of its enterprise, so far as we are aware has published no reply.

"We asked it to point out the 'venal demagogues' who 'while professing honestly to support the Prohibition ticket and cause, were corruptly pushing it;' and it cannot. We called for the 'specific proof—some of it of a confidential but absolutely conclusive character—that their movements were directed by the Democratic managers;' and this does not appear. We demanded the names of 'knaveish Prohibition leaders' who 'so many honest Temperance men misled;' and *The Press* fails to give them.

"The sole reference which that paper has since editorially made to the Prohibition leaders or their cause, as we believe, lies in one brief and elegant paragraph, saying: 'Judas P. St. John has dried up very effectually. To settle down and blow away will be his next experience.'"

But the matter did not end here. The charges were taken up and reiterated by various republican papers, notably the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* and the *Des Moines Register*, the editor of the latter, Mr. J. S. Clarkson, being a member of the republican National committee, and, later, achieving an unenviable notoriety, (if correctly reported in the *Globe-Democrat* in an interview copied

into the *Chicago Tribune* of Jan. 13th,) as the chairman of the bribery committee of that body.

Clarkson asserted that the overtures began in October, lasting for two or three weeks, during which time many interviews were included. He named James F. Legate, of Kansas, as the medium through whom negotiations were carried on, and who he claimed, acted in Mr. St. John's behalf and with his authority. Clarkson claimed also to be familiar with letters and telegrams from Mr. St. John himself, which could be produced whenever the latter would consent. When asked "What amount did Mr. St. John strike for?" Clarkson is alleged to have said:

"He first aimed high. Legate said he first put his figures at \$250,000. Legate told him he must think the republican national committee had a gold mine. St. John replied that both it and the democratic Committee had millions to spend, and that the figures he had named for himself were really modest. Legate said he and St. John took the cars and went to Topeka. He told him he must put his figures down lower. He said St. John then took him and showed him a certain house in Topeka, and told him if that were bought and furnished for him (Legate said it would cost something like \$40,000), and if he were given besides \$100,000 in government bonds so that his living might be assured, he would accept of them, for, he said, if he should withdraw and feather his speeches thereafter to the benefit of the republicans there would be so many Prohibitionists who would believe he had sold them out, that he could no longer make a living in the temperance work and would have to depend on general lecturing, the returns from which would be very uncertain. Legate told me at length many of the details of the talk at Olathe and the trip to Topeka, and of the protracted conversation at the latter place, all of which is extremely interesting, but which if told would make this interview too long."

About this time R. C. Kerens is introduced to corroborate Clarkson, and enters into details at some length. Mr. Elkins and Col. Dudley, commissioner of pensions, also figure in the matter. Kerens writes a long letter, describing various negotiations with Legate. Regarding Kerens' letter, which was shown to Legate at Topeka, Kansas, the *State Journal*, published in that city, says:

"After reading the letter carefully Mr. Legate said: 'This letter is a cold-blooded forgery. I never wrote anything of the kind to him or any one. It is a wilful and malicious lie from beginning to end. I never knew Mr. Kerens and never met him but once. I rode with him from Cincinnati to Columbus some ten days before the October election, when he told me the method of the campaign in Cincinnati.'

"Mr. Legate also declared he never made any such proposition, written or oral; that Gov. St. John had never talked to him on the subject, had never offered to make any terms with the republicans, and that St. John had never authorized him to make any propositions, and that any charge that he had done so was a wilful lie gotten up to injure St. John and ease down the men who had been lying on him."

This assertion Mr. Legate has steadfastly maintained, and it has never been shaken by any evidence adduced by Mr. St. John's calumniators.

Matters went on in this way for some time, the republican charges varying from time to time as they were met, and finally settling down to about the following: That St. John, through Legate, had, during the Ohio campaign, agreed to "feather" his speeches in the interest of the republican ticket for the sum of \$35,000; that the republican committee had at first entertained the proposition, but that after the Ohio state election they had not shown as much anxiety to negotiate as before, and that the democratic committee offering St. John \$38,000 to remain in the field, he had accepted the latter offer and had governed himself accordingly. All this Clarkson and his crew proclaimed themselves fully able to substantiate by the most ample proofs.

To all these charges Mr. St. John gave the most emphatic and unequivocal denials and challenged the evidence. The charges having been published in the *Pittsburgh Times*, Mr. St. John, on Dec. 11th, wrote a letter to that paper from his home in Olathe, Kansas in which occurs the following. Referring to the charge that he had received money from the democrats, Mr. St. John said:

"In answer to which I have only to say that I have no personal acquaintance with either Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Hendricks or any member of the national democratic committee. Nor did I ever have any transaction, communication, or understanding, either directly or indirectly, with either of said gentlemen, or any member of said committee, or any person claiming to act for or in any way to represent the democratic party, either State or national, in relation to the campaign just closed, or any other subject whatever. Nor did the democratic party, so far as I know, ever attempt to communicate with me."

Regarding any negotiations with the republican managers, he said:

"I never met Mr. Blaine, Gen. Logan, or any member of the national republican committee since Mr. Blaine's nomination, and I never saw Mr. Elkins, of the committee, in my life, and never have I, either directly or indirectly, sent or conveyed any communication or proposition to either of said gentlemen or said committee, or any member thereof, in relation to the late campaign; nor did I ever propose, for a consideration or otherwise, to withdraw from a canvass, or, by act, word, or deed, do, or omit to do, anything for the purpose of lessening the prohibition vote or increasing the vote of either of the old parties, nor did I ever receive a single penny, pledge, or promise, of any kind, in connection with the campaign, except my expenses, paid by the National Prohibition Committee.

"I gave my time and labor during the campaign freely, 'without money and without price.' And I now denounce every statement or insinuation inconsistent with the foregoing as absolutely false, and I challenge all persons who have published or circulated reports to the contrary to produce competent evidence to establish the truth of their assertions, or stand branded before the people as common scandal-mongers."

This denial was not published in the *Press*, it being the policy of the republican papers which were urging the charges to suppress whatever was favorable to Mr. St. John.

On January 18th, being then at St. Paul, Minn., Mr. St. John prepared a detailed statement, going over all the charges which had been made against him, meeting each as it was presented and showing its inconsistency, and closing in the following vigorous terms:

"I was never in the headquarters of either the democratic or republican party, and to this day do not know where they were located, nor did I during the campaign ever speak, write, or telegraph to, or even, to my knowledge, see any member of the national or state committees of either of said parties, nor did I receive a penny, pledge, or promise, directly or indirectly, from any political party committee or other organization, except my legitimate expenses, amounting to less than \$900, paid by the National Committee of the Prohibition party. Nor did I ever do, or propose to do, or omit to do anything for the purpose of decreasing the prohibition vote or increasing the vote of either of the other political parties, nor did I 'get a sore throat' or pretend to 'get a sore throat.' And I think that even the republican party will not claim that I 'feathered' my speeches, and I again challenge my defamers to prove to the contrary. 'With charity towards all and malice for none,' I now submit this statement to the people with a firm conviction and full realization that for the truth thereof I am to answer to God."

Very few of the republican papers published this dispatch, but a few of the best of them, and the long list of Prohibition, independent and democratic journals did publish it, and the public became very well informed. From this time forward occasional growls were heard from the Clarkson crew, but they seemed inclined to let the matter rest.

Not so the friends and supporters of Mr. St. John; thoroughly aroused by this attempt of partisan demagogues to blacken the fair fame of their candidate, and the refusal or inability to prove a single charge when the proofs were demanded, they determined to provoke such proofs or let these men stand branded as the basest and most cowardly defamers and scandal-mongers the age has produced. It will be observed that they have not scrupled to proclaim their readiness to buy if Mr. St. John was willing to sell, thus acknowledging themselves fully as corrupt and black as they had attempted to paint Mr. St. John. Clarkson, in the interview from which we have quoted, when asked the question, "Did you feel any reluctance in entertaining such propositions?" replied:

"I did not, for I felt that I was dealing with a candidate, and a movement which, starting into the campaign with doubtful morality, and certain temperance unwisdom, had degenerated into a mere ally of the democratic party, and was thus making itself a most injurious enemy to the cause whose name it was falsely bearing. I felt it to be right, if I could do so, to relieve both the republican party and the true cause of temperance of the injury of his candidacy. I had no doubt it would be right to defeat the democratic party by the use of this false and treacherous means, if it could be done. I have no concealment to make as to my belief that St. John was an element in the campaign to be got rid of

altogether, or at least to be controlled by the republicans if it were going to help the other side."

With this acknowledgment before them, the Prohibitionists assumed the aggressive. Under date of Jan. 19th, Mr. John B. Finch, chairman of the Prohibition National Committee, telegraphed as follows to the *Voice*:

BOSTON, MASS., Jan. 19.—J. F. Legate has for years been one of the most prominent republicans of Kansas, member of republican state committee and legislature. He is one of the best stump speakers in Kansas, and in this way was intimately associated with St. John. He now completely vindicates St. John, and says he (Legate) was simply acting as the agent of the republican national committee, to bribe St. John. The press here having quoted him as saying he represented St. John and the Prohibition Committee in the bribery business, I wired him, and have just received this reply:

"LEAVENWORTH, Kan., Jan. 18.—I have never said any such thing to anybody, at any time, nor is there any truth in the assertion.

"JAMES F. LEGATE."

Clarkson, by introducing Legate, has convicted himself and the republican national committee of vile political corruption. Call for Clarkson's books now, and let the people know if he did buy any Prohibitionists, and what he paid for them. In this way we may possibly get an explanation of some of the letters written for Blaine during the last campaign. A vile plot to induce a man to betray his followers, was never concocted by political rascals than this attempt to buy St. John, and now we want to know how much Clarkson did pay for those he induced to attempt to betray their friends.

We have the republican national committee convicted of an attempt to bribe, and we must now file a bill of discovery for all letters, telegrams, receipts and accounts of disbursements of the bribery department of the national republican committee.

JOHN B. FINCH,

Chairman Prohibition National Committee.

The Lever, Voice, American Reformer, Delaware Signal, Living Issue, Temperance Review and a multitude of other prohibition journals, too numerous to mention, attacked the maligners and scored them without mercy, daring and adjuring them to produce a scintilla of evidence in support of their false and abominable statements. Letters and telegrams were sent by D. W. Gage, of Cleveland, Prof. William Goodell Frost, of Oberlin, Rev. James Brand, Charles A. Metcalf, attorney-at-law, and others, also of Oberlin, whose names had been used, denying in toto statements Clarkson and others had made.

Hon. A. A. Barker, of Pennsylvania, offered \$1,000 in gold to any man who would produce satisfactory evidence implicating St. John. Mr. Horace Waters, of New York, a wealthy and responsible gentleman, offered \$500, but no evidence was forthcoming.

On Jan. 20th the following caustic questions to Mr. Clarkson appeared in the *Chicago Daily News*.

BOSTON, MASS., Jan. 20.—Clarkson, superintendent of the

bribery department of the republican national committee, having charged St. John with fraud, the evidence was demanded. He called his witness. The witness vindicated St. John. Clarkson now impeaches his own witness, and wants St. John to sue Clarkson for political libel in the republican state of Iowa. He has evidently taken Blaine's opinion that a judgment cannot be recovered where party politics are involved, and so, instead of owning that he was played as a sucker by Legate, and that he lied about St. John, tries the game of bluff. By this he admits that he has no evidence to convict St. John, and wants St. John to help convict himself. With your permission, I want to ask this head of the bribery department a few questions:

Is Legate the only witness you can produce against St. John?

Does Legate tell the truth when he says he was Clarkson's agent?

Legate being your witness, are you not either to take his testimony or stand branded as a man who introduced a liar to prove his case?

Legate having vindicated St. John, are you not bound to take the testimony of your own witness, and as an honest man apologize?

Have you or your friends a letter or telegram direct from St. John?

Have you a letter or telegram that purports to be signed by him?

When was this attempt to break down the Prohibition party first discussed in your committee?

How much money was set aside for the purpose of bribing the Prohibition leaders?

What Prohibition leader did you first attempt to reach?

Will you publish your entire correspondence with different Prohibitionists?

Will you give the public a detailed statement of the money spent by your committee?

Does Mr. McCullagh tell the truth when he says you agreed to pay St. John \$25,000?

Do you regard it an honorable thing to attempt to bribe a candidate to betray his followers?

Would honorable men listen to the propositions of a traitor to betray honest men and women?

Why did you consort with Legate?

Did you intend to buy St. John if you could get him cheap enough?

Is not a man who will listen to and help arrange a plot to bribe, as vile and mean as a man who accepts a bribe?

Did you not know that you stated a falsehood when you said St. John left Ohio to keep his contract with you?

Is not a man who will enter into a plot to bribe and then betray the confidential communications of his agent, as you did Legate's, a dishonorable man?

If placed on the national committee in 1888, will you attempt to buy the Prohibition candidate?

Will you at once publish all evidence you have in this whole matter, with a detailed statement of the amount paid the "New York Temperance Assembly," and those who wrote letters for Blaine?

JOHN B. FINCH.

It is needless to add that Clarkson did not answer these queries.

We might pursue this subject farther, but surely what we have given is sufficient to convince any reasonable person of the utter wickedness of the republican charges, of the shameless dishonesty of the leaders who made them, and the unenviable position in which they placed themselves and their party by their course. Even the better class of republican papers saw the folly and wickedness of such a course, and began to call a halt. The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* of Jan. 18th closed an editorial upon the subject as follows:

" * * * Nor can Mr. Clarkson and his friends convict Mr. St. John until they show his connection with Legate more definitely than has yet been done. There are certain things which will strike the average politician as queer. If at the critical time at which these negotiations were going on the national committee, or those of them who were running the campaign, supposed that \$25,000 would buy St. John off, why did they not pay it? It is well understood that at that time well-informed republicans all over the country were exceedingly anxious about New York, and especially on account of the Prohibition vote. It is not believed that the active members of the committee were restrained by any scruples. They were not that kind of men. The necessity for something to be done to make that State more safe for Blaine and Logan was acknowledged by all, and the failure to accept Legate's offer must have been either from the want of funds or from the suspicion that Mr. Legate could not deliver what he was proposing to sell; which was it?"

The *American Reformer* of Jan. 17th has the following:

Having called for Gov. St. John's consent that somebody tell what somebody knew about some one's political wickedness, the *Rochester Democrat & Chronicle* refused to publish a letter from Mr. A. A. Hopkins, of that city, embodying St. John's express demand for all the facts, on the ground that no party paper could be expected to print matter for another party's benefit. Whereupon the letter found place in the *Rochester Herald*, an independent daily of large circulation; and in it are the following questions, put to the *Democrat* editor, and the added indictment:

Why do you not allow some of these facts to appear before your readers? Why pursue with such cunning malignity one whom you so long approved and in whose honesty your party believed? Why do you not publish as much in his favor as you do to his blame? I have been twenty years in active journalism, and I never have seen any other man pursued by any party with the malice, the meanness, the unfairness, the bitter method, the sly, sneaking, unmanly, contemptible, cowardly, un-American spirit, with which your party papers have followed St. John since election. I feel a burning shame for my old party when I read its papers.

How the matter looked to the independent and non-partisan press is, perhaps, as well shown in the following extracts from two of the leading papers of that class, as can well be done.

[From the *Chicago Daily News* of Jan. 18.]

Ex-Gov. St. John has made an exhaustive and satisfactory reply to the charges made against him by J. S. Clarkson and the *Globe-Democrat*. Without interposing one word of fresh evidence other than that furnished by his enemies, he completely refutes the

slander that by himself or through friends he offered for \$25,000 in cash to withdraw as a candidate or to stay in the field to help the republicans. The general line of St. John's reply follows the criticisms of Clarkson's case heretofore made by the *Daily News*. One paragraph of his letter is worthy of reproduction. After exposing in detail the false statements and base insinuations of his accusers, he concludes one division of his reply as follows:

"Now, I submit to the candid judgment of every good citizen, unbiased by partisan prejudice—even though I should interpose no word in my own defense—do not the statements of Clarkson, Legate, and McCullagh show that there was a plan laid to either filch money from the treasury of the national republican committee or to bribe me to betray an honest, sincere, and conscientious minority, and thus prevent a fair expression of the will of the people, and through such corrupt means gain a victory for the republican party? Falling in this, and smarting under the lash of political defeat and blasted hopes, to crown the infamy Legate is treacherously betrayed and offered as a sacrifice upon the altar of corruption. And these are my accusers."

This very properly charges back upon the managers of the republican campaign the entire onus of attempting to secure the betrayal of the Prohibition party by the corruption of its candidate. St. John also submits the proof that he carried out to the letter the program of his canvass as appointed by the National Prohibition Committee. He also cites his letter of Oct. 13, published in the New York and Philadelphia papers, in which, to a request to withdraw printed in the New York *Tribune* Oct. 11, he said he should "neither withdraw nor assume a neutral position." In conclusion St. John makes an exclusive denial of any direct or indirect communication with any individual or representative democratic or republican person or committee as to his campaign work. "Nor did I receive," he says, "a penny, pledge, or promise directly or indirectly from any political party or other organization, except my legitimate expenses, amounting to less than \$900, paid by the National Committee of the Prohibition party." He challenges his defamers to the proof of their slanders. His letter was submitted to Clarkson, who has no answer to it, except to say that it is a confession and not a contradiction. With this Clarkson should sink out of sight.

[From the Chicago Herald of Jan. 15.]

WHAT THE MOTIVE IS.

It is reasonably plain that the ferocious assault made upon ex-Gov. St. John in the interest of the republican party is in pursuance of a well laid plan to bring the entire Prohibition movement into disrepute. The authors of these charges against St. John do not care whether they substantiate them or not. They have not as yet produced a particle of evidence tending to show that their accusations are true. The man Legate, whom they claim acted for St. John in an attempt to sell out to the republican national committee, pronounces their statements false, but whether false or not as to him it has not yet been shown that St. John knew anything about Legate's machinations. The strongest possible evidence that St. John was not for sale is found in the fact that he was not bought. The members of the republican committee have shown that they were capable of buying him. It is known that they had money enough to satisfy a reasonable man. As no bargain took place the inference that the man whom they wanted to buy was not for sale is irresistible.

There is a motive for the assault on St. John. A slander oft repeated and vehemently adhered to comes at last to be believed, or it at least serves as a cloud upon the fame of the person against whom it is directed. If these men can fix the impression upon the public mind that the last Prohibition campaign was a blackmailing one they will do much to discourage similar movements in future. That is their object. The fact that most Prohibitionists are intelligent people, who read and think for themselves, may be counted on to make this dishonorable conspiracy practically useless.

Taking all these things into consideration, together with the various statements that Clarkson has been far too economical in the use of the truth, a charge which has been made with almost as many variations as the subject presents, it would appear to an unprejudiced mind that that person has ample opportunity to become involved in any number of libel suits, if he is very anxious so to do, without the necessity of urging any one else to begin one for him.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION.

OHIO.

BY J. W. ROSEBOROUGH.

Ohio framed her first constitution and was admitted into the Union in 1802. That constitution remained the organic law of the state until September 1st, 1851, when the present constitution, adopted by the people at an election held the previous June, took effect. Under this first constitution the power of the legislature over the business of manufacturing and vending intoxicants was unrestricted. It was entirely optional with the legislature whether the business was taxed, licensed, prohibited, or wholly ignored. In other words, under this constitution, "legislative control" prevailed in the state for nearly fifty years. During all that time license also prevailed. In fact liquor license obtained in the territory for at least ten years before the state was organized, making, in state and territory, a "legislative control" license experience of nearly sixty years.

Hon. G. T. Stewart, in his "Ballot Test of Temperance," says:

"During this period some efforts to check the liquor traffic were made. In 1843-44 Judge Gustavus Swan and other prominent citizens of Columbus sought a "local option" law, and continued their efforts until Feb. 8th, 1847, when two acts were passed in accordance with their request. The first was entitled "An act regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors," which provided that the right to grant licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors should be determined by vote of the people in each township, and for selling without a license, a fine of from \$10 to \$100 for each offense was imposed, which, with costs, it was provided should be a lien on the premises where the liquor was sold; and if the people voted in favor of license, the sale to persons intoxicated or addicted to drunkenness was prohibited under the same penalty. This embraced the ten counties of Cuyahoga, Delaware, Trumbull, Mahoning, Franklin, Geauga, Lake, Ashtabula, Preble and Marion.

A law similar in principle was enacted for Medina, Huron and Erie counties. These acts, supplemented by another "prohibiting the county commissioners from remitting or compromising penalties and judgments in liquor cases," enabled the people to assert their purpose. "The people generally voted against license and enforced the law, almost destroying the liquor traffic in those counties. For the first and last time in its history the city of Cleveland then reported its prisons empty, and its criminal courts out of business." These were effective

laws, and accomplished the purpose intended. LIKE ALL EFFECTIVE laws they were attacked by the liquor dealers. "The legislature which had enacted these laws was democratic, and that party was held responsible for them at the ballot-box. The leaders of the whig party (which then claimed to embody the virtue and intelligence of the state) went into secret council with the liquor criminals, and pledged their party to a repeal of the local option laws, and by that means carried the next legislature. Promptly, and pursuant to contract, the act of Feb. 2nd, 1848 was passed by the whig legislature repealing the local option laws of the year before."

In reference to this license system and its operation and results, it has been well said that "Notwithstanding there were in most of the counties of the state, prior to 1851, not exceeding half a dozen licensed places, and, therefore, only that many places where the drink traffic was allowed by law, the evils of intoxication did not abate, but *constantly increased!* Clandestine houses and places where liquors were unlawfully sold, were almost innumerable. Almost every store and grocery sold liquors!" In the convention of 1850-1, that framed and submitted our present constitution, Mr Hawkins, a member, speaking of the operation and results of their fifty years experience with license in the state, said, "We have tried the license system for years, and it has worked out nothing but misery and pauperism. It is for us to provide a *remedy* for this license system, which has swept the state like the simoom of the desert, and which, if left unchecked, will sap the very foundations of the political as well as social structure." Other members uttered similar convictions. The people, in view of the manifest failure of license, and of the danger of "legislative control" on this vexed and vitally important question, resolved to put a permanent quietus upon the license business in the state, and voted by nearly ten thousand majority, the following significant provision into their new constitution: "No license to traffic in intoxicating liquors shall hereafter be granted in this state, but the general assembly may, by law, provide against evils resulting therefrom." All efforts of the rum-power and every art and device of the political adjuncts of that power, have thus far failed to induce the people to remove this grand anti-license clause from their fundamental law. Though oft assailed, covertly and otherwise, for a third of a century it has stood, and still stands, a solid and glorious monument of the good sense, patriotism and steady virtue of the people of the state.

The majority of the convention that framed and submitted the new constitution was democratic, as was the state when the popular vote was taken thereon, which resulted in its adoption. The two succeeding general assemblies following the adoption of the new constitution, were also democratic. By the first of September next, it will be thirty-four years since our present organic law, with its anti-license clause, took effect. Fourteen of those thirty-four years, the democrats have had control of the legislature. For twenty years the republicans have had control. During the following years the democrats had the control: 1852-'3-'4-'5; 1856-'9; 1868-'9; 1874-'5; 1878-'9, 1884-'5. During all the other years the republicans controlled legislation.

It will hence be seen that either the democratic or republican party has had control of the legislature ever since the existence of our present constitution.

To decide which of these parties has done most legislatively for temperance, necessitates an examination of their enactments on that subject. A democratic legislature in 1852, empowered cities

and incorporated villages, "To regulate taverns and other houses for public entertainment, and to regulate or *prohibit* ale and porter shops and houses, and places for significant or habitual resort for tippling and intemperance." At its next session in 1853, the same legislature passed an act purporting to empower township trustees, at their option, to suppress liquor shops. This was regarded as a legislative attempt to enact local option. In January of the same year it formally repealed the old license laws.

The legislature of 1854 was very largely democratic. It abrogated the township option law passed the year previous and enacted the famous law of May 1, 1854. This law, greatly modified, constitutes the body of the liquor laws now upon our statute books. Though far from being perfect, it was, as a whole, and as originally enacted, much the most effective temperance law ever passed in the state. Its provisions have been substantially copied into the statutes of several other states. The importance of this law demands of us a somewhat more extended notice than ordinary enactments. It was entitled "An act to provide against the evils resulting from the sale of intoxicating liquors in the state of Ohio," and contained fourteen sections, only a part of which we have space to examine.

SECTION 1. Prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors in any quantity to be drank in, upon, or about the premises where sold.

SECTION 2. Prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors to minors, unless upon the written order of their parents, guardians, or family physicians.

SECTION 3. Prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors to persons who were intoxicated, or who were in the habit of getting intoxicated.

SECTION 4. Declared all places where intoxicating liquors were sold in violation of the act, common nuisances, and provided that they should be "Shut up and abated as public nuisances."

SECTION 5. Declared that it should be unlawful for any person to get intoxicated, and that every person found in a state of intoxication should be fined in the sum of five dollars and be imprisoned in the county jail not less than one nor more than three days.

SECTION 6. Made the illegal vender liable to compensate any person who should take care of inebriated persons.

SECTION 7. Gave every wife, child, parent, guardian, employer, or other person, who might be injured, a right of action against the illicit vender for damages, both *actual* and *exemplary*.

SECTION 8. Provided that the penalty for the violation of either the first, second, or third sections of the act, should be a fine of not less than twenty nor more than fifty dollars and imprisonment in the jail of the county of not less than ten nor more than thirty days; and for every violation of the fourth section the person convicted was to be fined in a sum not less than fifty nor more than a hundred dollars, and be imprisoned in the jail of the county not less than twenty nor more than fifty days.

SECTION 9. Provided that the giving away of intoxicating liquors, or other shift or device to evade the provisions of the act, should be held an unlawful selling.

SECTION 10. Provided that for all fines and cost assessed against any person or persons for any violation of the act, the real and personal property of such person or persons, of every kind, without exemption, should be liable, and that such fines and costs should be a lien upon the real estate of the convicted person or persons until paid.

The remaining sections relate mainly to the form and methods

for the enforcement of the law. The weak point, and unfortunate provision in this law was one excepting from the operation of sections *one* and *four*, native wine, or beer, ale, or cider. Under cover of selling these, the forbidden beverages could be sold, and often were sold in large quantities and in such manner as to make detection and proof difficult and often impossible. Besides it is a notorious fact that these excepted liquors are the cause of most of the drunkenness, pauperism, and crimes of the state. Notwithstanding this weakness, however, in the original law, it was very generally enforced, and the jails of the state were largely filled with drunkards and drunkard-makers, for under the original law every person convicted *had to go to jail*. The judge had no discretion or power to prevent it. Imprisonment was sure and *operative*.

The rage and execrations of the "body-rotters" were loud and deep. They appealed first to the supreme court but signally failed to get relief there. That court, democratic as it was, *unanimously* sustained the law. Recourse was then had to party politicians. It was said a bargain was made by the liquor men and democratic politicians in the year 1857, when a new legislature was to be elected, to the effect that the democrats should have the liquor vote in consideration that they, when elected to the legislature, should abolish the imprisonment provisions of the above liquor law.

A democratic legislature was elected, and, on the 5th of April 1859, the law, at the dictation of liquor men, was amended and the imprisonment provisions virtually destroyed by substituting "*or imprisoned*" for "*and imprisoned*," thus making it discretionary with each judge whether he imprisoned or not.

The effect has been exactly what was anticipated and desired by liquor men and their corrupt political adjuncts. Imprisonment, as a rule, has never been enforced. A judge very rarely imprisons in this state in a liquor case, unless the statute *imperatively demands* it. It is also true that it is the *minimum* or smaller penalty, provided in a liquor statute, that our judges usually enforce. The *maximum* penalty is, in practice, mere empty thunder. The above democratic act of April 5, 1859, not only destroyed the chief penalty of the law of 1854, and so far destroyed the law itself, for the efficacy of a law is in its penalty, but that act did more, it reduced the amount of the minimum fine for violating either the first, second, or the third sections of the act, from *twenty* dollars to *five* dollars! Thus, under this infamous amendment, a fine of only five dollars might be imposed, where before, as the law was enacted and remained for nearly five years, the smallest penalty in the power of the court to inflict for the violation of either of these sections was a *twenty* dollar fine and ten days imprisonment!

No republican legislature has since had either the courage or disposition to restore the law by replacing its penalties, and it now, by the joint act of *both* parties, remains, practically, almost a dead letter upon our statute books for the very obvious reason that it has no penalty warranting an attempt to enforce it. People will not try to enforce a law when its enforcement is sure to punish the prosecutor more than the prosecuted!

The legislature was republican in 1856-7, and it enacted a law prohibiting the use of strychnine and other active poisons in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating or alcoholic liquors. It also passed an act forbidding liquors to be furnished prisoners in jail. The democratic legislature of 1854 enacted a law prohibiting the adulteration of alcoholic liquors. A republican legislature in 1864 passed a law interdicting the sale of spirituous, vinous, or malt

liquors on election days. A republican legislature in 1866 passed an act making it unlawful to buy for, or furnish to, any person intoxicated, or in the habit of getting intoxicated, or to any minor, any intoxicating liquor. A democratic legislature in 1869 amended its law of 1852 so as to empower municipalities "to regulate, restrain and *prohibit*, ale, *beer*, and porter houses and shops, and houses and places of notorious or habitual resort for tippling or intemperance." This was a great improvement on the law of 1852, inasmuch as it included *beer* and beer houses and shops. Under the law as thus amended, the celebrated McConnellsville ordinance and other similar ordinances were passed whose constitutionality the supreme court affirmed. A republican legislature in 1870 amended and, to some extent, improved section seven of the law of 1854, relating to civil damages. In 1874 a democratic legislature prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors at or near the Ohio Soldier's and Sailors Orphan's Home, or within two miles of the former farm. The republican legislature of 1856 had prohibited their sale within two miles of any agricultural fair. In 1861 a republican legislature passed a law forbidding the sale of liquors within four miles of a camp meeting. A democratic legislature in 1875 inserted in the civil damage law of 1854, amended by a republican legislature in 1870, the infamous notice provision which, while retaining the *form* of the law, practically nullified it, by requiring, as a condition precedent to the right of recovery, proof that notice not to sell had been given the dealer previously to his commission of the act complained of, a requirement in unquity and folly only equaled by that of a statutory requirement that the right to recover damages against a thief or burglar should depend upon proof being made that the thief or burglar prior to the commission of his crime, had been duly and formally notified *not to commit it!!* This outrage was undoubtedly perpetrated at the dictation of the rum power. No republican legislature, for fear of alienating liquor votes, has ever since dared to efface the infamy or restore the law. The lifeless corpse of the emasculated enactment remains still upon our statute books, a monument and proof of the abject subordination of the legislatures of both parties to the insolent rum element. In 1878, when the democrats had again the control of the legislature, they took from cities and incorporated villages the power to *prohibit* beer and ale houses, and gave power only to "regulate" them, the effect of which was to abolish all prohibitory ordinances. The reader will notice that all the laws made, amended, or repealed thus far, respecting the regulation or prohibition of intoxicating liquors in municipalities, have been the work of democratic legislatures. The laws as codified and embodied in the revised statutes of 1880 are substantially the laws previously existing, and may be regarded as largely the joint product of the legislature of both parties.

A republican legislature, in 1880, changed slightly sections 6941 and 6945 of revised statutes, and at its next session in 1881 changed the maximum penalty for selling spirituous liquors on Sunday from five to fifty dollars. In 1882 a republican legislature enacted what is known as the Smith Sunday law. It prohibited the sale of malt, vinous and distilled liquors on Sunday, and required liquor shops to be kept closed on that day. The penalty prescribed for a violation of the law was a fine of not more than a hundred dollars and imprisonment in the county jail not to exceed thirty days. * This was doubtless the most efficient enactment against liquor selling on Sunday ever enacted in the state. It applied to all kinds of liquors and added imperative imprisonment to the fine, a very effective and much needed feature of all laws against illicit liquor dealers. This

same republican legislature enacted, April 5, 1882, the noted "Pond law," taxing dealers in various sums from one hundred to three hundred dollars. A country dealer was taxed one hundred dollars. A dealer within a village of less than two thousand inhabitants, or who resided within a mile of such village was taxed one hundred and fifty dollars. Those residing in a city or village of less than ten thousand inhabitants were taxed two hundred dollars. Those in a city of the second class having a population of ten thousand inhabitants, or more, or within two miles thereof, were taxed two hundred and fifty dollars, while those who lived in a city of the first class, or within two miles of it, were required to pay three hundred dollars. Every dealer before engaging in the business was required to enter into a bond of a thousand dollars, with at least two sureties, residents of the county, each owning freehold estate therein, conditioned for the faithful performance of the requirements of the Pond act, in other words for the payment of the assessment. Section four declared every person who should engage or continue in the business, without giving such bond, guilty of a *misdeemeanor*, and punishable by a fine not less than five hundred nor more than a thousand dollars, or imprisonment in the county jail not less than thirty days nor longer than a year, at the discretion of the court.

A case was made and taken to the supreme court to test the constitutionality of the act. The supreme court, composed of five members, and at the time the decision was made, *i. e.*, May 30, 1882, of four republicans, Johnson, White, Melvaine and Longworth, and one democrat. Okey, chief justice, held four to one, (Judge Johnson alone dissenting,) that the act was a *license law*, and as such in conflict with that clause of the constitution which declares that "No license to traffic in intoxicating liquors shall hereafter be granted in this state." The following is the first proposition contained in the syllabus of the decision: "The *constitutionality* of a statute depends upon its *operation* and *effect*, and not upon the *form* it may be made to assume." In announcing the decision of the court, Chief Justice Okey said: "Though not called a license law, it authorizes the granting of that which is as clearly a license as the privilege granted under the (license) act of 1831. The quality of a thing is not altered by changing its name, and the special privilege to traffic under this act is as clearly a license as if it had been in terms so called."

Not content with this experience however, the same republican legislature, at its next session, resolved to make another effort to tax the traffic. Accordingly on the 17th of April, 1883, the famous "Scott tax law" was enacted. This law taxed dealers in malt and vinous liquors one hundred dollars, and general dealers two hundred dollars per annum. Real estate security was demanded. The dealer was required either to own the premises on which he operated, or else get the written consent of the owner to sell liquor thereon, in which event the law placed a lien on the premises to secure the payment of the assessment. The Pond law required *personal* security, the Scott law required *real estate* security. Under the Scott law, as under the Pond act, it was made a *misdeemeanor* to engage in or continue the business without giving the required security, and punishable with fine or imprisonment or both at the discretion of the court. If the "Pond law" was a license law it would seem difficult to conceive how the "Scott law" could be held anything else. The law has been several times before the supreme court. The first time, a majority of the judges (of a "packed court" as was very generally charged) held the law constitutional, but the same court differently com-

posed, recently, by a majority of its members, held the Scott law, like its predecessor, the Pond act, in *operation* and *effect*, clearly a license law, and therefore unconstitutional and void. The Scott law purports to repeal the Smith Sunday law, passed the preceding year, and embodies in itself a provision, which, as to rural districts, is similar to the Smith law, but which gives cities and incorporated villages power to *license* wine and beer selling on Sundays! It also, in terms, abrogates the law inhibiting the sale of spirituous liquors to be drank in, upon, or about the premises where sold and thus clearly, in operation and effect, licenses "tippling houses," declared by the supreme court, in its decision in 1854, to be nuisances in *law* and in *fact*! Until the Scott law there was never a moment since the existence of the state, when, without license, it was lawful to sell *spirituous* liquors to be consumed on the premises where sold. This was the *main* and almost *only* privilege conferred by a license under the old license system. The Scott law, like the Pond law, was the child of politicians, the invention and pet of demagogues. Neither of them was ever asked for by the people. Both, from their inception, were regarded with suspicion by them. Between the principle of these laws and that of Christianity there exists an irreconcilable antagonism. They were cunningly devised schemes to evade the constitution and perpetuate license, and involved in their intended and practical operation the bribery of one portion of the people with money taken from the rest for the means and general privilege of *getting drunk and making drunkards and criminals*! If the democratic law of May 1, 1854, was the best *temperance* law ever enacted in the state certainly the republican Scott law of April 17, 1883, was the worst *license* law ever enacted in it. No other ever so utterly ignored moral character in the licensee or gave him such unrestricted liberty to debauch and pauperize his fellow beings. Never before, in the history of our state, has the liquor traffic been so powerful, so insolent, or so free as now, and this, too, in the face of the plain fact that the power of the legislature *entirely* to *prohibit* that traffic is, and ever has been since the existence of the state, as unrestricted and absolute as is and has been its power to inhibit the traffic in lottery tickets or diseased meats, or to prohibit gambling, theft or murder.

"A tax on a trade or occupation *implies* a *permission* to follow that trade or occupation"—Speech of Senator John Sherman at Columbus, Ohio, Aug. 31, 1882. From what we have now written the reader will doubtless be prepared to judge for himself which of the present old parties in our state has done the most, and which the least for temperance, and whether, from their record, *either* is entitled to the confidence of the true friends of that sacred cause in the impending momentous conflict with the rum fiend.

ELMIRA, O., Jan. 16, 1885.

ILLINOIS.

Illinois was admitted as a state in 1818. The first temperance law was passed in February, 1819, during the session of the first state legislature, and provided for a license fee to be fixed by the commissioners, not to exceed twelve dollars per annum. The penalty for selling liquor or keeping a public house of entertainment without such license was one dollar per day. License to be granted for one year only. License to be revoked if drunkenness, disorder or gaming were allowed. Good entertainment for man and horse were to be provided, under penalty of five dollars for

failure. Bond to be given, with security if required, not to exceed \$200, that licensee should be of good behavior at all times and obey all laws in force relating to the business. The sale to be drank on or adjacent to the premises, or to companies of slaves, servants or others, or in quantities less than one quart of spirituous or two gallons of malt liquors, was prohibited under penalty of twelve dollars. The law also forbade the sale to minors or the harboring of minors or bond-servants, and provided that the commissioners should fix a table of "rates" which should be posted conspicuously, and fixed a fine of \$20 for violation of such rates. To prevent devices for evading the law nearly all kinds of liquors known were specified and the term "strong water" was added, and to cover every possible locality the terms "shelters," "places" and "woods" were included among the localities coming under the inhibition of the law. This law was passed by a legislature democratic in both houses, and was approved by Governor Shadrack Bond, a democrat.

The second law was passed February 14th, 1823, legislature overwhelmingly democratic, Governor, Edmund Coles, anti-slavery democrat. It was entitled "*An Act to prevent*," etc. It prohibited sales to Indians, made all accounts for liquors greater than fifty cents void, and prohibited the courts from taking jurisdiction in such cases. It also prohibited the licensing of any "tippling shop, commonly called a grocery," and required applicants for license to sell liquor to give security that they would also keep "meat and lodging for at least four persons over and above his common family, and stabling and provender for their horses." This act prevented the keeping of saloons as they are now kept, the inn, or tavern idea only being recognized.

In 1833 an act was passed making the sale of cider in less quantity than two gallons unlawful. Legislature democratic. Governor, John Reynolds, democrat.

In 1835 a mild high license measure was passed, making the license not more than \$50 taking into consideration "the stand where the '*tavern*' was located." The dram-shop idea was not recognized. Legislature democratic; Governor, Joseph Duncan, democrat.

In 1837 the cider law of 1833 was repealed and all "*citizens of the state*" were authorized to sell cider and beer in any quantity. Legislature democratic; Governor Duncan, democrat. The Governor and his council of revision, the Supreme judges, refused to approve the bill, but it became a law through the neglect to return it with the Governor's objections within the ten days prescribed by law.

In addition to these statutes, specifically aimed against the traffic, the criminal code, revised 1833, made it unlawful to sell in quantities less than one quart, without first having obtained license, and inflicted a fine of \$10 for each offense. A like fine for selling to a slave or servant without the master's consent; and sale to Indians absolutely prohibited.

March 3d, 1845, legislature democratic, Governor Thomas Ford, democrat, a law was passed making the license fee not less than \$25 nor more than \$300 and requiring bond in \$500 to keep orderly house and not permit gaming or riotous conduct. The principle of local option was introduced by conferring upon the president and trustees of incorporated towns exclusive authority to grant or withhold license, but requiring the license money to be paid into the county treasury. The law still held to the "grocery" idea, but defined a grocery to be "a place where spirituous or vinous liquors are retailed in less quantities than one quart." The penalty was a

fine of ten dollars for each offense, and the law prohibited the sale to negroes or Indians under penalty of \$10 and \$20 respectively, and if a sale was made to a minor or servant the seller was fined \$3 and forfeited the price of the liquor sold for the first and second offenses and for the third offense a fine of \$12, forfeiture of license and the seller forever rendered incapable of keeping a grocery in the state.

THE PROHIBITORY LAW OF 1851.

February 1st, 1851, the democratic legislature passed an act prohibiting the sale of vinous, spirituous or mixed liquors in quantities less than one quart, or in any quantity to be drank on the premises, and fixing the penalty at \$25 for each offense. The giving away of liquors was declared a sale within the meaning of the act. All license laws were repealed. The sale to a person under 18 years of age in any quantity was punishable by fine not less than \$30 nor more than \$100. The penalties might be enforced by indictment or action for debt, the latter provision being intended to do away with the delay of an indictment and render the enforcement of the law more speedy and certain. The judge was required to furnish the act to every grand jury, and the law was made to include incorporated towns and cities, anything in their charters to the contrary notwithstanding. The law was approved by Augustus C. French, democrat, governor. This law was in force two years and six days, during which time there was no legal sale of liquor in Illinois.

Feb. 7th, 1853, the legislature, largely democratic, Joel A. Matteson, of Will county, governor, repealed this law, and on Feb. 12th restored all laws pertaining to license which were in force at the time the prohibitory law was passed. This was a long step backward, but some allowance must be made for the legislature of 1853. It was composed of the barbarians who passed the black laws of Illinois, and marks the blackest era in the history of the state. The law restoring the license laws provided that the fee should not be less than \$50 nor more than \$300.

Feb. 22nd, 1861, the legislature passed the law prohibiting the sale of intoxicants or keeping open of bar rooms on any election day. There have also been several minor acts passed at different times, prohibiting the sales on Sunday, or at Fairs or within two miles of same, at elections, at camp meetings or within one mile of same. The latter law is a part of the criminal code. The law relating to the organization of cities and villages, found in paragraph 46, revised statutes of 1874, authorizes city councils in cities and the president and board of trustees in villages to license, regulate or prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks, to determine the amount of the license fee, and limits the term of the license to the municipal year. This law is subject to any general state law concerning license which may be in force. There have also been special charters granted to certain cities conferring similar powers.

THE ACT OF 1872.

The year 1872 marks a decided advance in temperance legislation, as it was in that year that the law sometimes mistakenly termed the "Reddick" law was passed. The law was prepared under the direction of Hon. H. W. Austin, member of the house of representatives from the third district of Chicago. It was drafted by O. H. Horton, Esq., of Chicago, at Mr. Austin's request, and embraces the principal features of the Adair law of Ohio. Mr. Austin introduced this bill in the select committee on temperance

in March, 1871. The measure met with favor in the committee, and in order to secure its more certain and speedy passage, it was thought best to have it pass the senate first. A printed copy of the bill was taken by Hon. Wm. Reddick, senator from LaSalle, from the house, and presented by him to the body of which he was a member. This was the only connection Mr. Reddick had with the bill, except to vote in favor of its passage, and he has never claimed to be the author of the law or that it should bear his name. To Mr. Austin the state is indebted for the law and whatever of excellence it contains.

As before stated, Mr. Austin introduced the bill in the committee in March, 1871. It was presented in the house by the chairman of the committee, March 3d, read a first and second time and printed. It remained in committee of the whole until the adjourned session in November, and on the 27th of that month was introduced in the senate, which body it passed, with very slight amendment, December 19th, 1871, by a vote of 40 in favor to 5 against it. In the house it was debated for three days, when it passed January 11th, 1872, by a vote of 114 to 48. Both houses were strongly republican, but the bill passed by a decidedly non-partisan vote, democrats and republicans supporting it. On the 13th of January it was approved by the republican governor, John M. Palmer, and went into effect the first of July following. The main provisions of the law are as follows:

SEC. 1. Makes selling without license unlawful; requires bond in \$3,000 for all damages that may result to person, property or means of support by reason of sale under license, and provides that such bond may be sued and recovered upon.

SEC. 2. Forbids sale to minors, intoxicated persons or habitual drunkards.

SEC. 3. Makes all places wherein liquors are sold contrary to the provisions of the act public nuisances, and orders their abatement as such.

SEC. 4. Provides that any person may take charge of an intoxicated person, and makes the one who caused such intoxication liable in action for debt for reasonable compensation for such care, and two dollars per day in addition for every day such person shall be kept on account of such intoxication.

SEC. 5. Makes seller of liquor and owner of property where sold liable for damages, and gives right of action to all persons damaged, including married women who are given *femme sole* right to bring suit. Also provides that suit may be brought by any appropriate action in any court having competent jurisdiction.

SEC. 6. Makes penalty for violation of first or second sections fine not less than \$20 nor more than \$100, and imprisonment in county jail not less than ten nor more than thirty days; with costs of prosecution, and for violation of third section, fine not less than \$50 nor more than \$100, with costs, and imprisonment not less than twenty nor more than fifty days. It also orders places in the latter case to be abated and shut up by order of the court until convicted person gives bond and security in \$1,000 not to sell contrary to law, and to pay all fines, costs, and damages assessed. It also provides that fines may be enforced separate from imprisonment before justices of the peace.

SEC. 7. Makes giving away or any other device to evade the act the same as selling.

SEC. 8. Provides that all real estate and personal property of the seller not exempt under the homestead laws of the state, or from levy under judgment and execution, shall be liable for fines, costs

or damages, and they shall be a lien upon the same until paid. Premises leased or rented for sale of liquors are made subject to lien also. The section also prescribes method of procedure.

SEC. 9. Provides that penalty mentioned in sixth section may be enforced by indictment, and that all pecuniary fines mentioned in any section, (except fourth and fifth) may be enforced before justice of the peace in action of debt in the name of the people of the state as plaintiff, and commits to jail until judgment and costs are fully paid. Also gives justices of the peace jurisdiction in cases under fourth and fifth when amount does not exceed \$200, action to be in name of party entitled to debt or damages provided for in said sections.

SEC. 10. Provides that it shall not be necessary to state the kind of liquor sold or to describe place where sold, and for violation of third section not necessary to state name of person to whom sold, and in all cases persons to whom sold to be competent witnesses to prove such fact or any other relating thereto.

THE DRAM-SHOP ACT OF 1874.

It was not until 1874 that the laws of Illinois began to call things by their right names. Heretofore places where intoxicants were sold were known in law as "groceries." The first section of the license law of 1874 terms them "dram-shops" and defines what a dram-shop is. This law differs from the preceding one in only very few important particulars.

SEC. 1. Defines a dram-shop as a place where intoxicating liquors are sold in less quantities than one gallon, and declares intoxicating liquors to include all such liquors within the meaning of the act.

SEC. 2. As amended May 18, 1877, makes the penalty for selling without license a fine of not less than \$20 nor more than \$100, or imprisonment not less than ten nor more than thirty days, or both.

SEC. 3. Requires the application to be accompanied by a majority of voters in the town, election precinct or district in which the dram-shop is to be located, and restricts the authority of the board to sections outside of and two miles from cities or villages wherein the corporate authorities have jurisdiction over the traffic.

The remaining sections, up to the last, are identical with the previous law, or nearly so. The fifteenth or last section provides that it shall be no objection to a recovery under this act that the offense for which the person is prosecuted under this act is punishable under any city, village or town ordinance.

The legislature at the time the law was passed was republican, and the law was approved by Governor John L. Beveridge, republican.

In 1879 a law was passed making all dram-shops in which minors are allowed to play at cards, dice, etc., disorderly houses, and subjecting the keeper to a fine not exceeding \$50 for the first or \$100 for each subsequent offense, or imprisonment not exceeding thirty days for first offense, nor sixty days for each subsequent.

The last important legislation in this line was the

HARPER HIGH-LICENSE LAW.

This law was passed in 1883 by a republican legislature, and as a strict party measure, the republican party in Illinois having declared squarely in favor of high license as a principle. It was approved by Governor Shelby M. Cullom, June 15, 1883. It provides that license shall not be issued in the state at a lower fee than

at the rate of \$500 for one year for the privilege of keeping a dram-shop, provided, that in all cases where the license is for the sale of malt liquors only, the fee shall not be less than \$150 per year. The penalty, bond, petitions, etc., do not materially differ from those provided in the laws of 1873 and 1874.

The opinion is somewhat general that Illinois has a local option law, but a careful perusal of this abstract will show that such is not the case. The license laws simply say that the proper authorities *may* (not shall) issue licenses. It is thus left optional with them, and the sale of liquors may be prevented by electing boards and councils themselves opposed to license.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Efforts to "regulate" alcoholism began with the early settlers in Massachusetts. Men were fined heavily, imprisoned and "whipt" for being "drunk" in 1629. In 1637 it was an offense to remain in a licensed drinking house "longer than necessary occasions" and to be punished with a fine of "20 shillings." In 1639 there was a law forbidding "the drinking of healths," because "it was an occasion of much wast of the good creatures," etc. In 1645 inkeepers were fined "five shillings for suffering any to be drunk in their houses, or to drink excessively, or to continue tippling above the space of half an hour." It was "excessive drinking when above half a pint of wine was allowed at one time to one person to drink."

These and many other "regulations," seeking to secure men of standing and of good judgment to deal out the liquors so as to avoid excess, fencing with restrictive laws proceeded upon the conviction that alcoholic liquors were a potent remedy for human ills. This was not questioned by anybody. Excess was a crime in the stricter days of the long period up to 1836 or a fault which however was condoned by its universality during most of these years. In spite of all regulation drunkenness increased until it became almost universal. Few adult persons did not drink, and occasionally to excess, and this included ministers and women. In spite of the most stringent license regulations the quantity of distilled liquors drank in the years 1790 to 1830 inclusive probably averaged seven gallons to every man, woman and child, besides enormous quantities of cider, beer and wine. And all these years as earnest and honest men as history has any account of, did their best to suppress "intemperance." Their uniform defeat arose from one cause. They did not recognize alcohol as in its own nature a destructive poison.

It would be monotonous to recite the "regulations" attempted during two hundred years, all of which were efforts to retain a cause and prevent the effects, a style of "reform" still in favor with many people. But gradually it began to dawn upon the leaders that the trouble was the alcohol, and whether in "rum" or in "cider" made little matter. The result of this conviction was the total abstinence action of 1836 at Saratoga. As early as 1823 Henry Ware had said: "There is no man or body of men who can strike at the root but the legislature of the nation." As the truth began to permeate the better classes, the demand for prohibitive legislation grew. The county commissioners up to 1835 had been appointed officers and they had entire control of the licenses. This year the office was made elective, and the question of license entered into the election. In many towns the "no-license party" triumphed, and thus the question assumed much the

shape it has now: "total abstinence for the individual and Prohibition for the state."

On the Fourth of July, 1838, the fifteen gallon law went into effect. No person except licensed apothecaries and physicians might sell less than fifteen gallons of spirituous liquors, "all of which was to be carried away at one time." The law was violently opposed by the dealers and their sympathizers, and remained in force only a year and a half. But the people rallied, elected no license commissioners, and it is affirmed that from 1841 to 1852 no licenses were issued in Boston, and very few in the state. It was a period when the license system had fallen under general condemnation. In almost every state where opportunity was afforded to vote there were heavy majorities against the license system, and Ohio and Michigan incorporated their condemnation in their constitutions. In New York, at a general election, April, 1846, more than five-sixths of the towns and cities gave large majorities against license. This was the prevailing sentiment from 1845 to 1856, when the whole question was over-slaughed by the "anti-slavery agitation."

PROHIBITORY LAWS.

By Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., L. L. D.

The first prohibitory statute in Massachusetts was enacted in 1852 by a democratic, whig, and free soil legislature, George S. Boutwell, (democrat) governor. Having been pronounced unconstitutional in some details, it was repealed in 1853. Thereupon, General Benjamin F. Butler was employed by friends of temperance to draft a bill which was enacted into law in 1855 by a legislature representing the American party Henry J. Gardner, Governor.

The law was attacked at every point, withstood every legal assault upon it, was sustained in the highest court, and was retained upon the statute books till 1868. In 1867, Judge Sawyer, then District Attorney of Suffolk county, pronounced it the strongest law that can be made, and declared that it was executed—600 of the strongest dealers, within the space of four weeks, having pledged themselves to leave the business.

During all those twelve years, the republican party, as a party, trembled before it like an aspen leaf—lacking equally the courage to repeal it and the manliness to execute. The government of Boston, then in the hands of the republicans, was specially open to censure. By measures studied and treacherous, it continuously and persistently nullified the law. Several members of the Board of Aldermen took the utmost care to select liquor sellers exclusively for the list of names whence jurors were to be drawn, and when assailed therefor by citizens, justified themselves on the ground that they could not say that they were not free from all legal disabilities." They thus passed by citizens about whom none would raise a question, and selected those who, at the next turn of the wheel, might themselves become the victims of the law. By such means there were sure to be some liquor dealers, all violators of the law, on every panel—a procedure as flagrant and indecent as would be the selection of counterfeiters to try counterfeiters, forgers to try forgers, or thieves to try thieves.

Sometimes the Mayor would make a most ostentatious effort to execute the law, and on its failure would declare its execution impracticable. The Hon. Alexander W. Rice furnished a conspicuous example of this. We put hundreds of cases into court, very few of which were ever tried, and those before jurors selected to prevent conviction. Of course, these efforts were futile, as they

were intended to be—proved by the utter neglect of the seizure clause of the law, in the use of which the heaviest dealer in the city could have been broken down in a week. His honor has made several efforts since his administrations as mayor of the city and governor of the Commonwealth to repair his temperance record, but with very indifferent success.

After years of vain endeavor to secure an honest and patriotic execution of the law on the part of the city authorities, the temperance people appealed to the state to create a metropolitan police and thus itself attend to the execution of its own laws. After repeated effort it became probable that such a bill would be enacted, whereupon His Excellency, John A. Andrew, then governor of the Commonwealth, and one of the most renowned governors we have ever had, consulted with his friends in the legislature, warned them of the political dangers attending their proposed action, presented them a bill for a state constabulary force which he would prefer to a metropolitan police, and which was enacted into law.

The constabulary force thus created, which should have been aided by the ordinary police of the city as the law required, was opposed and obstructed by it, and for some time accomplished very little in the chief centres of population; while in all the rural regions of the State the traffic was substantially at an end.

The friends of temperance did not sleep. They pushed the constable to handle his State force with more vigor and precision. These efforts were not in vain. In the latter part of 1865 and through 1866, much good work was done, though the authorities of both State and city exerted quite other than a helpful influence. In proportion as the State force showed itself efficient, it was the subject of the most malignant attacks. Its action was severely felt by many dealers in the city. Their liquors were seized, condemned by the courts, and poured into the streets. Many thousands of dollars worth were thus destroyed, many dealers utterly crushed, and the whole fraternity were in the utmost consternation.

At length the plan was devised by the liquor dealer's committee of getting the merchants of Boston to petition for a repeal of the prohibitory law and the enactment of a license law, professedly for the greater restraint of the traffic, but really to remove the restraint already crippling the traffic.

This plan was acted upon in 1867. A large body of professingly most Christian merchants, with the Hon. Alpheus Hardy at their head, sent their petition to the legislature. It was referred to a joint special committee of thirteen, who occupied the representatives' hall six weeks in hearings on the subject. The then ex-Gov. John A. Andrew and the Hon. Linus Child were counsel for the petitioners. They were faithful to their clients. Nominally employed by the merchants, they were really in the employ of the liquor dealers, who paid Mr. Andrew fifteen thousand dollars, and Mr. Child five thousand dollars, respectively, for their services. The Hon. William B. Spooner and the Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., then president of Tufts College, conducted the case for the remonstrants, without fee or reward. They summoned witnesses to prove the facts above stated, and those witnesses were some of the liquor dealers who subscribed the money, and the refusal to let them testify was a confession of the truth of the facts alleged. The petitioners summoned a hundred and twenty-five ex-officials, dignitaries, and clergymen, almost every one of whom confessed that he used wines or liquors as beverages, and almost

all of whom chafed more or less at being questioned. The remonstrants called about seventy-five, all of whom were total abstainers. The committee submitted three reports, and the legislature retained the law by a very large majority, ninety men in the house and senate, uncommitted at the opening of the hearing, voting against a change. Thus prohibition triumphed, and the foes of good order were discomfited.

In the autumn of 1867, the Personal Liberty League, a dark lantern association, was organized in all the cities and principal towns, controlled the caucuses, packed the legislature, republican still, and in 1868 repealed the prohibitory law and enacted a license law. This repeal by a legislature largely republican, Hon. Alexander H. Bullock, governor, was a surprise. It was not believed the party dare repeal it. A year of free liquor ensued. In the autumn of 1868, the people rallied, nominated Hon. William Claflin, republican, a total abstainer and Prohibitionist, for governor, and triumphantly elected him, with a senate and house to correspond.

There was great satisfaction among temperance men. Everybody looked for the restoration of the law of 1855, repealed the year before. In name, it *was* restored; in fact, it was destroyed. The governor had no sooner taken the oath of office than he proceeded to one of the most treacherous acts from which the cause of prohibition in our State has ever suffered. He recommended the restoration of the prohibitory law, but counselled that cider be exempted from its operations. He thus broke the principle of the law, furnished a cover for the sale of all sorts of liquors, and made detection in the highest degree difficult.

One of the leading republican papers of the State, *The Daily Evening Traveller*, of Boston, up to that time entirely sound on prohibition, took ground with the governor in a series of articles written by a leading member of the State central republican committee. The republican legislature of that year, 1869, followed the counsel of the governor, and began the work of debauching the prohibitory sentiment of the state. The next year, all fermented liquors were exempted from the operation of the law, the constabulary force found its work increasingly difficult, and ceased to be handled with either integrity or efficiency. After various unimportant changes, the law was made prohibitory again, but left unexecuted, and was replaced in 1875 by our present local option law. All this was done by a studied, stealthy, persistent effort to place the question of prohibition in such an attitude that, whatever else it might do, it could not be made an issue in the politics of the State. The deadening influence of this condition of things is apparent. The State is disintegrated. The rural districts, by their "No-license" vote, drive the traffickers from their midst, who fly to the city where license, at a moderate cost, can be had for the asking, and where, if they prefer, they can with impunity sell without a license, since the law which it was assumed public opinion would sustain and execute, is substantially prostrate.

Some statistics of arrests and prosecutions for the license years 1875-77 were presented by Governor Alexander H. Rice in contrast with those of the last year of nominal prohibition, to the disadvantage of the latter; but Col. Carroll D. Wright, by whom the statistics were gathered at the command of the governor, refused to be held responsible for any such inference. He knew that the authorities executed the laws far better in the license than in the prohibitory period, and that during 1875-7 many men out of employment had

no means to procure liquor. Besides, it was ascertained that the number of arrests for drunkenness, during those years, was very exactly in the inverse ratio to the activity of the Reform Clubs in the various cities and towns of the State.

In surveying the history of the republican party in Massachusetts, I have no hesitation in saying that, as a party, it is entitled to little else than condemnation in its conduct towards the temperance cause. It found the strongest law possible when it came into power. It has wrestled with a good voting prohibitory majority in the State and overthrown it. When it has not been treacherous it has been timid, not only leaving the law unexecuted, but handling the police of the city in ways to prevent its execution. It is, and ever has been, in full complicity with the opulent law-breakers of the State.

THE PRESENT LAW.

The present law of Massachusetts may be termed a very stringent license law. It provides for licenses of six different classes, as follows:

First Class: To sell liquors of any kind to be drunk on the premises.

Second Class: To sell malt liquors, cider and light wines, containing not more than 15 per cent of alcohol, to be drunk on the premises.

Third Class: To sell malt liquors and cider to be drunk on the premises.

Fourth Class: To sell liquors of any kind, not to be drunk on the premises.

Fifth Class: To sell malt liquors, cider and light wines, containing not more than 15 per cent of alcohol, not to be drunk on the premises.

Sixth Class. To druggists and apothecaries to sell liquor of any kind for medicinal, mechanical and chemical purposes only, and to such persons only as may certify in writing for what use they want it.

The fees for licenses are: for the first class not less than \$100 nor more than \$1,000; second or third class, not less than \$50, nor more than \$250; fourth class, not less than \$50, nor more than \$500, *provided*, that a distiller who distils not over fifty barrels a year shall pay \$50 and one who distils over fifty not less than \$300 nor more than \$500. For a license of the fifth class, not less than \$50 nor more than \$500, *provided*, that a brewer shall pay not less than \$200 nor more than \$400. For a license of the sixth class, one dollar.

Makers of cider and native wines may sell the same without license, not to be drunk on the premises. Druggists may sell pure alcohol. Every druggist must register date, person, kind, quantity and price at every sale and the purpose for which purchased, register always to be open to inspection by proper officers. Importers may sell in original casks, or in casks not less than required of importers under U. S. laws without license. License can only issue in towns and cities which so vote at the annual municipal election or town meeting, and run only until the first of the next May. Notice of application for license must be published or posted ten days before the licensing board can act thereon. In case the owner of adjacent real estate files an objection before the ten days expire, no license can issue.

The mayor and aldermen may refuse to issue license to parties

they deem unfit. Every license forbids the sale on the Lord's Day, (except inn-holders to guests) also between the hours of twelve at night and six in the morning on week days; forbids the sale of any but liquors of good, standard quality and free from adulteration; to a drunkard, intoxicated person or one known to have been intoxicated within six months preceding; or to a minor, either for his own use, the use of his parent or any other person. All disorder, indecency and gaming is forbidden either on the licensed premises or premises connected therewith by interior communication. Licenses of the second, third or fifth class forbid that other liquors than those specified be kept on the premises. Licenses of the first, second and third classes are subject to the condition that the licensee shall not keep a public bar, and shall hold license only as an inn-holder, and the room in which liquors are to be sold shall be specified. Licenses must be displayed where they can be easily read. The violation of any of these conditions works forfeiture of the license.

The board granting the license may require the permanent closing of all entrances except from the public street. No blinds, screens or other obstructions are allowed, and any obstruction which interferes with a clear view of the interior makes the license void. Bond is required in the sum of \$1000, to be signed by surety worth \$2000, property to be designated and statement kept on file with the bond.

One fourth of the license money must be paid to the state by the treasure of the city or town. Any authorized officer may enter premises at any time to see how the business is conducted, and may take samples of liquors for analysis, the town or city to pay for said samples if found of good quality and unadulterated. Mayors and aldermen of a city and selectmen of a town may declare a license forfeited after due notice, and if so declared the holder is disqualified to receive license for one year, and if he owns the premises no license to be exercised on said premises can issue for the balance of the term.

Any person taking liquors to sell, or be sold into a town in which licenses are not issued, forfeits the liquors to the state.

Whoever violates any provision of his license or of this law is liable to a fine not less than \$50 nor more than \$500, or to jail not less than one or more than six months, or both, and the licensee also forfeits his license and becomes disqualified to hold license for one year, and no license can be issued for the premises, if he be the owner, for the rest of the term.

Any person injured in person, property or means of support by an intoxicated person, has right of action against any person who, in whole or in part, caused such intoxication, and against the owner of the premises unless the occupant holds a license. Persons selling to minors or allowing minors to loiter on premises are liable in the sum of \$100 for each offense, to the parent or guardian of such minor.

The husband, wife, parent, child, guardian or employer of any person having the habit of drinking to excess, may notify any person in writing not to sell to person having such habit, and if persons so notified sell to such person within twelve months, the person giving the notice may recover in any sum not less than \$100, nor more than \$500, *provided*, that an employer giving such notice shall not recover unless injured in person or property.

Any liquor containing more than three per cent of alcohol is declared intoxicating liquor.

Other sections of the law provide for the inspection of liquors

and against their adulteration. The law is very strong and explicit on this point. The seizure of concealed liquors is also provided for, and such liquors may be forfeited to the state.

A mayor, alderman, selectman, sheriff, or deputy, chief of police or deputy, city marshal or deputy, police officer or constable may arrest violators of the law without warrant and seize liquors, vessels and implements in their possession, and it is made the duty of these officers to enforce penalties against offenders. If they neglect so to do for two weeks after being notified in writing that the law is being violated and the names of witnesses are given them, any person who makes complaint thereafter is entitled to all fines collected for such violation.

All liquors kept for sale and the implements and vessels used in selling contrary to law are declared common nuisances; also all club rooms used for the purpose of selling or dispensing liquors to members or others, and those who keep or maintain such rooms are liable to fine not less than \$50 nor more than 100, or imprisonment in the house of correction not less than three months nor more than twelve.

Amendments provide that no license shall be granted for sale within four hundred feet of any public school; provide for the inspection and seizure of liquors; forbid tampering with samples taken, and require common victuallers having license to close their places from midnight until five in the morning.

Other amendments add to the stringency of the Sunday and gaming laws; the restrictions upon licensed victuallers provide against giving credit for drink, food or livery hire to students in educational institutions, and against selling liquor or beer without license at any show or exhibition.

There is also a law in Massachusetts against drunkenness. Any person getting intoxicated by the voluntary use of liquor, may, for the first offense, be fined not more than one dollar and costs, and be imprisoned until such fine and costs are paid, not exceeding ten days. A male person for the second offense may be fined not more than five dollars and costs or imprisoned not more than two months. If he has been convicted twice in the twelve months preceding, he may be fined not more than ten dollars or imprisoned not more than one year.

If a woman has been convicted twice within twelve months she may be fined not exceeding ten dollars, or imprisoned in the reformatory prison for women not less than one or more than two years; or, in any place provided by law for common drunkards, not more than one year.

It would seem from a perusal of these laws that, if there were any virtue at all in license laws and other so-called restrictive and regulative measures, it should be manifest in Massachusetts, yet we find that according to the Census and Revenue reports of 1880 that state had one saloon to every sixty-four voters, a proportion equalled by only fifteen other states, while the adjoining state of Vermont, with a prohibitory law moderately well enforced had but one saloon to 201 voters, and South Carolina with such Prohibition as she could secure through local option had but one saloon to each 246 voters. These figures speak volumes.

WISCONSIN.

LEGISLATION TOUCHING THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Samuel D. Hastings.

This article is not intended to be exhaustive. Nothing more will be attempted than to give some account of the more important and interesting action in this direction.

The Territory of Wisconsin was organized in 1836. In the legislation of the year 1836 authority was given to license "groceries, victualing houses and ordinaries with permission to sell spirituous liquors and wine." The license fee was \$108. The penalty for violating the law was a fine not less than \$10 and not to exceed \$50.

In 1839 a volume of territorial laws was published in which the laws on this subject were given as they existed at that date.

Licenses were authorized to be granted "to keepers of inns and taverns to sell strong and spirituous liquors and wine to be drunk in or out of their houses respectively." The license fee had been greatly reduced since 1836. It was now not less than \$5, and not over \$25. Grocery licenses for liquors to be drunk on the premises, \$100.

No licenses to be granted to inn holders or tavern keepers unless the applicant was of GOOD MORAL CHARACTER, that he had sufficient ability to keep a tavern, and had the necessary accommodations to entertain travelers, and that a tavern is necessary for the actual accommodation of travelers where the applicant proposed to keep the same, all of which had to be especially stated in the licenses.

A bond was required of every tavern keeper, inn holder or grocer, in such sum as the commissioner may require, conditioned that the applicant will not suffer his house or grocery to become disorderly or allow gaming with cards, dice or other implements used in gaming, in his tavern or grocery or any out house or yard appertaining thereto. The accommodations that tavern keepers were to have, are set forth in the law: Two beds with sufficient covering, sufficient stabling, hay, feed, grain etc., and pasturage in summer.

Penalty for selling without license, \$25 fine. They were not allowed to sell to minors under 18 years of age without consent of parents or guardians.

Penalty \$20 fine, with liability to have license revoked, and if revoked it could not be renewed for three years.

Licenses for selling in larger quantities than one quart were from \$20 to \$75. Penalty for selling without licenses, from \$10 to \$75.

In 1840 a law was passed forbidding the sale of liquors to Indians—penalty \$50. If the sale was made by a licensed person his license was forfeited and could not be renewed for one year.

No particular further changes seem to have been made in the license laws while Wisconsin remained a Territory.

The state was admitted into the Union in 1848. At the session of the Legislature that met in Jan., 1849, most extraordinary action was had.

A law was passed at this session known at that time as the WISCONSIN BOND LAW. In its main features it was almost exactly like what have since been denominated *civil damage laws*. The question suggests itself whether this Wisconsin "bond law" was not really the first civil damage law, passed in the United States.

The first section of this law provided that "in addition to all other requirements a penal bond of \$1,000 with three or more sufficient

sureties" should be given "conditioned to pay all damages to support all paupers, widows and orphans, pay the expenses of all civil and criminal prosecutions made, growing out of or justly attributable to such traffic, that community or individuals may sustain by reason of such traffic."

Married women were authorized to institute and maintain in their own names suits on any such bond for all damages sustained by themselves or their children.

"No suit for liquor bills shall be entertained by any court in the state."

"When in any suit or promissory note, it was made to appear that it was given in whole or in part for liquor bills the court must dismiss suit at once at cost of plaintiff."

It was only necessary to prove on trial, to sustain the action, that the principal in the bond sold or gave liquor to the person so intoxicated or in liquor on that day previous to the commission of the offense.

When a person became a pauper by reason of intemperance, a suit could be instituted by the proper authorities on the bond of the person who had been in the habit of selling or giving liquor to the person who had become a public charge.

A person against whom judgment was obtained could sue all others engaged in the traffic in the place, who had been in the habit of selling to the person, to compel contribution towards paying the judgment.

Penalty for selling without first giving the required bond was not less than \$50 nor more than \$500. and imprisonment not less than 10 days nor more than six months, and also liability to the public and to individuals the same as though the bond had been given.

The passage of this law was hailed all over the land, by the friends of temperance as the most advanced step ever taken in legislation touching the liquor traffic.

The legislature was largely democratic, with about a dozen each of whigs and free soilers. Among these free soilers was Hon. J. F. Willard, the father of Miss Frances Willard, as a member from Rock county.

But the passage of this law was by no means all that was done by this legislature touching the liquor traffic.

A LARGE NUMBER OF PETITIONS were presented asking for the repeal of all laws providing for the sale of spirituous liquors.

A bill was introduced to repeal all such laws. This bill and all petitions upon the matter were referred to a select committee of which Samuel D. Hastings, a member of the assembly from Walworth county was the acting chairman.

The committee consisted of two democrats, two free soilers and one whig.

Mr. Hastings, a free soiler, presented the report on behalf of the committee, and as showing the views held at that time on the question of license the report is given in full. It was signed by all the members of the committee.

"The committee to whom were referred No. 68 A." A bill repealing all laws providing for the licensing the sale of spirituous liquors together with sundry petitions praying for action on the subject would respectfully REPORT.

That in entering upon the consideration of the various matters referred to them, they have felt deeply sensible of their importance and of the propriety of giving them a full and candid examination.

The whole question of licensing the sale of spirituous liquors is one that has been the occasion of much discussion in the several

states of the Union, and one upon which there is a wide diversity of opinion among the wise and good of the land.

Your committee have felt diffident of their ability to throw much additional light on a subject that has been so ably and so fully discussed by those who have given it much thought and patient investigation; still endeavoring to profit by the facts and arguments of others, and guided by the lamp of experience, they would present to the assembly some of the considerations which have led them to the conclusions they have reached.

The license laws of our state authorize the sale of spirituous liquors as a common beverage, with certain conditions therein specified.

Your committee would call attention to the following facts:

FIRST. It is established by uncontrovertible testimony that the intoxicating principle of these liquors is *poison*, and that their habitual use as a beverage is not conducive to the well being of mankind.

SECOND. It is an equally well established fact that their general use operates injuriously upon the best interests of a community in various ways, among which may be the mentioned the following, viz: (a) It destroys the prosperity, the health, the happiness, and the lives of thousands of those who use them. It is estimated that not less than thirty thousand drunkards die annually in the United States. (b) As an inevitable result it operates injuriously upon the families and connections of its more immediate victims. It destroys their prosperity and happiness, and in many cases reduces them to pauperism. (c) It has been proved by reference to official documents that the use of spirituous liquors as a beverage is the cause of at least three fourths of the pauperism of the country. (d) It is estimated that at the present time there are not less than two hundred thousand individuals in the various alms-houses of the United States, who have been brought there entirely through the influence of the use of such liquors by the individuals themselves or by those upon whom they were dependent. (e) Their use is a fruitful source of crime. The larger amount of the more heinous crimes committed in our country are committed under the exciting influence of these drinks. There are at the present time, probably not less than fifty thousand criminals in confinement as a penalty for crimes committed under the influence of intoxication produced by the use of spirituous liquors. (f) It can be shown by reference to data that cannot be controverted that the cost to the United States in consequence of the use of these liquors, is not less than one hundred million dollars annually.

This amount is made up in part by the following items, viz: 1. The cost of the liquor consumed, paid by those who are in no sense benefitted by it. 2. The loss of time which its use occasions. 3. The diminished productions of land, labor and capital. 4. The loss of health and reason and all the expenditures occasioned thereby. 5. The cost of the support of paupers and of the prosecution, trial and support of criminals occasioned by it. 6. The property lost in consequence of its use, by casualties on the land and on the waters. 7. The shortening of human life and the consequent loss of human labor.

We have laws upon our statute books which license men to traffic in an article, the use of which produces all the evil results we have noticed.

The business is thus made legal and respectable. The man who is engaged in it in one sense may be said to stand on a higher ground than the man who is engaged in any other business, for he

acts under an express license granted by the authority of the state.

Your committee are unanimous in the opinion, that all laws on our statute book, which license the sale of spirituous liquors and thus give the high sanction of the state to this traffic ought to be immediately repealed for the following, among other reasons, viz.:

FIRST. Because all such laws are ANTI-DEMOCRATIC. They give special privileges to a few, that are not enjoyed by the many. One man is authorized to pursue a business, which perhaps, his next neighbor is not allowed to pursue.

If the business is right and proper in itself, all should be allowed to pursue it without restraint. If it is wrong no one should be legally authorized.

SECOND: Because it is going beyond the legitimate scope of legislative authority to pass such laws. It is authorizing a man, by law, to pursue a business that is injurious to the best interests of the community.

The facts already presented prove conclusively, that the use of spirituous liquors, while they do no good to any human being are productive of evils of the greatest magnitude.

While license laws are in force all these evil results follow under the sanction of law.

The law should give its sanction only to that which is right in itself, and just and equal in its result. It should authorize and sanction the right and condemn the wrong. In all its requirements and sanctions it should be in strict accordance with natural justice, and should consult the best good of all its subjects. We are told by high authority that "all laws derive their force from the law of justice, and those who do not are accounted no laws."—*Fortescue, Jac. Law Dict.* "The law of nature is that which God, at man's creation, infused into him, for his preservation and direction, and this an eternal law and may not be changed"—*2 Shap. Abr, 356 Jac. Law Dict.* "Jurisprudence is the science of what is just and right."—*Justinian.*

These extracts could be multiplied to almost any extent but enough we think have been adduced for the purpose of the present argument. It is not competent for legislative authority to authorize wrong—to authorize a man to injure his neighbor or to injure the community in whose midst, he may reside or to authorize him to pursue a business which would produce these results. The traffic in spirituous liquors does produce these results. To sanction and protect it by law is wrong. It is transcending the rightful authority of the law making power. It is a violation of those great principles which lie at the foundation of all just legislation, and its influence upon the well-being of the community is injurious in the highest degree. So long as this traffic is shielded by the fostering and protecting arm of the law, so long will the business be regarded as an honest and respectable calling—and so long will the ten thousand times ten thousand evils which follow in its train continue to curse the land.

Withdraw from the business the sanction of the state and fix upon it the frown of a correct and indignant public opinion and if it does not sink away into obscurity the people will then be prepared to call for such remedies as the nature of the case may demand.

It may be objected to the view taken by your committee that the license laws are prohibitory in their character and design. THE ORIGINAL DESIGN, without doubt, of the passage of license laws was to create a revenue to the government. They had their origin in England at a time when expedients of all kinds were resorted to

for this purpose. The first license law passed in this country, that your committee have any record of, was passed in Massachusetts, in 1646. This, doubtless, had the double object in view of raising a revenue and regulating the business. License laws have been in existence from that period to the present, and almost if not quite every state in the Union has passed such laws, and still, in the face of them all, the use of intoxicating drinks has increased, and the evils of intemperance have spread and enlarged until their magnitude and extent have become almost beyond endurance. Whatever, then, may have been the design of the license laws, their operation has not been prohibitory. Under their influence intemperance has increased and our country has been cursed with a curse of the most awful character.

A few moments examination, we doubt not, will satisfy anyone that these laws could not be prohibitory in their operation, for any good practical purpose. The law merely prescribes who shall sell and how the seller shall procure his authority to carry on the traffic. *It places no limit to the quantity to be sold. The supply is always equal to the demand.* In a community where spirituous liquors are sold anyone who has the means and desires to procure them can do so just as effectually as though they were sold in every house. Were it not for the sanction of the law, public sentiment might long since have rendered the business disreputable and driven from it all who regard their standing among their fellow men. While the law protects it, it will be impossible to fix upon it that odium which should justly attach to it. **WHAT IS THE LAW?** By what authority does the liquor seller pursue his business?

The law is the expression of the will of the whole people placed upon the statute book, by their chosen representatives. The man who pursues this business does it by the authority of the whole people. What right have they to complain of him for the course he is pursuing? What right have they to charge upon him the entire responsibility of the evil results which flow from the sale of his poisonous liquors? He is doing no more than the people in their collected wisdom have authorized him to do, and in doing which he is protected by the strong arm of the law. The responsibility rests upon the law, or rather upon the people who have made and who now sustain the law.

The effect then of our license laws is not *prohibitory*. They furnish a supply equal to the demand, and place it within the reach of all, and then stand as a guardian angel to shield the traffic from the effects of that virtuous indignation of an outraged community which might otherwise compel the hydra-headed monster to hide itself in the dens and caves of the earth. These laws are anomalies in legislation. They are based upon wrong principles. To license wrong is not the way to prohibit and restrain it. To license is to declare that if practiced legally, it is right, and hence it is almost impossible to produce upon the minds of a large portion of the community the conviction that it is wrong.

In view of the foregoing considerations, your committee are unanimous in reporting back to the assembly "No. 68." A bill repealing all laws providing for the licensing of the sale of spirituous liquors, without amendment, and recommending its passage."

The bill passed the assembly by a vote of 41 in its favor to 8 against—five to one.

When sent to the senate it was referred to the "committee on expiration and re-enactment of laws," who reported it back with an amendment, with the recommendation that when amended it be passed.

The amendment was the addition of the following proviso: "Provided that nothing herein contained, shall be so construed, as in any manner to interfere with any of the provisions of 'an act relating to the sale of spirituous liquors,' passed at the present session of the legislature."

The act referred to was the "Bond law" already spoken of. The bill passed the senate by a vote of 8 to 5, but was reconsidered before it went to the governor for his signature, and was then defeated by a vote of 9 to 7, and here the matter rested.

In 1850 an effort was made to REPEAL the BOND LAW which only resulted in some amendments which added to its efficiency.

The amendment passed the senate by a vote of 11 to 8, and the assembly by a vote of 36 to 24.

In 1851 the "Bond law" was repealed and a license law put in its place.

Under the provisions of this law the supervisors of towns, aldermen of cities and trustees of villages, were authorized to grant license "to grocers, saloon keepers or places of any name whatever," to retail to as many as they see proper. License fee for retailers \$100, for wholesalers \$50. A bond of \$500 was required, conditioned that the applicant would keep an orderly and well regulated house, permit no gambling, and obey all legal requirements of the authorities granting the license. Penalty for violating the law, a fine of \$100 and costs or 60 days imprisonment.

It was made the duty of supervisors, aldermen, trustees of villages, justices of the peace, marshals, deputy marshals, and constables to make complaint when they knew or were creditably informed that the law had been violated, and if they neglected to do so they were liable to a fine of \$25.

The officers granting licenses were authorized to forbid the sale of liquor to excessive drinkers, spendthrifts, or persons liable to become public charges. Licenses could be revoked if the law was not obeyed.

The law repealing the "Bond law" and enacting the license law passed the assembly by a vote of 30 to 24 and the senate by a vote of 9 to 8.

In 1852 no changes were made in the license law, other than to reduce the fee for retailing to not less than \$10 nor more than \$100, for wholesaling not less than \$10 nor more than \$40. Penalty not less than \$10, nor more than \$40.

In 1853 a large number of petitions were presented to the legislature asking for a prohibitory law. A bill for a prohibitory law was introduced and for a while seemed likely to pass, but finally the matter was compromised by submitting the question to a POPULAR VOTE. A law was passed providing that "At the general election to be held on the Tuesday succeeding the first Monday in November, A. D. 1853, at the usual place of holding elections in the state for the election of all officers required by law, then to be elected, it shall be lawful for the qualified electors of this state to vote for or against a prohibitory liquor law, such vote shall be by ballot * * * and shall contain the words 'prohibitory liquor law, No, or 'prohibitory liquor law, Yes,' and the ballots so cast shall be canvassed and returned in the same manner as the votes cast for state officers are required, to be canvassed and returned." The secretary of state was required to publish the result and communicate the same to the next legislature.

This law passed the assembly by a vote of 40 to 12, and the senate by a vote of 15 to 7—a more than two-thirds vote in both houses.

In 1854 the governor in his message to the legislature said: "At the June session of the last legislature an act submitting to the electors of the state the question of a prohibitory liquor law, was passed.

"The Secretary of State in pursuance of a requirement of that law, reports the whole vote cast at the late election upon that question to be 51,632, and that 27,519 votes were for, and 24,109 against the law.

"The expression of public opinion contemplated by the act referred to, submitting the question to the popular vote, is now before you, and it remains for you in your wisdom to determine what will best satisfy the sentiments of the whole people in relation to the subject, subserve their true interests and be best adapted to the actual condition of things in the state at large."

This portion of the message was referred to a special committee consisting of James H. Knowlton, John W. Davis, Harlow S. Orton and C. C. Remington.

This committee reported A STRINGENT PROHIBITORY LAW and recommended its passage.

The bill passed the assembly by a vote of 43 to 28. It went to the senate, where it was amended, providing that it should be submitted to a popular vote before going into effect, and as thus amended passed by a vote of 16 to 6. The assembly refused to accept this amendment, claiming that the people had just voted upon the question and given a decided expression of their views in favor of such a law. Committees of conference were appointed but neither house would yield, and thus the law failed.

In 1855 a bill for a prohibitory law was again introduced and passed the assembly by a vote of 42 to 23, and the senate by a vote of 13 to 7: nearly a two-thirds vote.

Thus it will be seen that the Wisconsin legislature has twice been at a point where it passed a prohibitory law by large majorities in both houses.

Up to 1854 the state had always been democratic. In 1855 the assembly was republican while the senate and the executive still remained democratic.

The prohibitory law passed this year was VETOED BY GOV. WM. A. BARSTOW.

The vote in the assembly upon passing the bill over the veto was 39 to 30, thus failing to secure its passage.

There does not appear to have been any special legislation on the liquor question until 1859, when a law was passed forbidding the sale of liquor on Sunday at the annual town meetings, and at the fall elections.

In 1861 a law was passed forbidding the sale of liquors within two miles of a camp-meeting or religious assembly without the consent of those having charge of the meeting, unless by persons previously licensed.

In 1862 slight changes were made in the price charged for licenses and in the penalty for violation of the law.

No further special legislation on the subject seems to have been held until 1866, when a law was passed forbidding the sale of liquor to minors, and forbidding their playing billiards in saloons.

In 1867 a law was passed forbidding the sale of liquor within one mile of the State Hospital for the Insane.

In 1872 the civil damage law generally known as THE "GRAHAM LAW" was passed.

This law was substantially the "Bond law" of 1849 with some of its best features omitted.

In 1873 a strong effort was made to repeal this law, but it failed. The effort to repeal was repeated in 1874, and succeeded, when a license law was again put upon the statute books.

The law of 1874 is essentially the law now in force, and has many excellent provisions for a license law.

Town boards, village boards and common councils have authority to grant as many licenses to retail or wholesale liquors as "they may deem proper."

It is at the discretion of these boards to grant or to refuse to grant licenses, and hence it will be seen that the law is really a "local option law" as the voters can prevent the licensing of the traffic by electing a board that will refuse to grant licenses.

Every applicant has to give a bond of \$500 with satisfactory sureties, "conditioned that the applicant, during the continuance of his license, will keep and maintain an orderly and well-regulated house, that he will permit no gambling with cards, dice, or any device or implement for that purpose, within his premises, or any out-house, yard or shed appertaining thereto; that he will not sell or give away any intoxicating liquor to any minor unless upon the written order of the parent or guardian of such minor, or to persons intoxicated or bordering upon intoxication or to habitual drunkards; and that he will pay all damages that may be recovered by any person pursuant to section 1560, and that he will observe and obey all orders of such supervisors, trustees or aldermen, or any of them, made pursuant to law."

The law MAKES IT THE DUTY OF "every supervisor, trustee, alderman, justice of the peace, police officer, marshal, deputy marshal and constable, * * who shall know or be credibly informed that any offense has been committed against the provisions of this chapter to make complaint against the person so offending, * * to a proper justice of the peace, and for every neglect or refusal to do so, every such officer shall forfeit \$25."

The law provides that "When any person shall, by excessive drinking of intoxicating liquors, misspend, waste or lessen his estate so as to expose himself or family to want, or the town, city or village to which he belongs to liability for the support of himself or family, or so as thereby to injure his health, endanger the loss thereof, or to endanger the personal safety and comfort of his family, or any member thereof, the wife of such person, such supervisor, alderman, trustee, or any member thereof, shall, in writing signed by her, him or them, forbid all persons licensed by this chapter, to sell or give away to him any ardent, spirituous, or intoxicating liquors or drinks, for the space of one year."

This authority is extended so that these officers can forbid the sale in any other town, city, or village to which the spendthrift may resort for the same. This prohibition to sell can be renewed from year to year.

The law provides (Section 1560.) that any person or persons who shall be injured in person or property or means of support by or in consequence of the intoxication of any minor or habitual drunkard, shall have the right of action severally or jointly, in his, her or their names, against any person or persons who have been notified or requested in writing by the authorities designated in section 1554, or by the husband, wife, parents, relatives, guardians or persons having the care or custody of such minor or habitual drunkard, not to part with liquor or other intoxicating drinks to them, and who notwithstanding such notice and request, shall knowingly sell or give away intoxicating drinks, thereby causing the intoxication

of such minor or drunkard, and shall be liable for all damage resulting therefrom.

Married women have the same right to sue as others.

"All places of whatever description in which intoxicating liquors are sold in violation of law shall be held and are declared public nuisances, and shall, upon conviction of the keeper thereof, be shut up and abated."

THE SALE OF LIQUOR ON SUNDAY, on the day of the annual town meeting and the day of the fall election is forbidden.

"The giving away of intoxicating liquors, or other shift or device to evade the provision of this chapter shall be deemed and held to be an unlawful selling within its provisions

The sale of liquor to Indians is forbidden.

In 1882, a law was passed providing that in case a person to whom liquor had been forbidden to be sold was found intoxicated, he could be arrested and made to tell where he had procured his liquor, and in the event he refused to do so he was liable to imprisonment. It was also provided that any person who procured, in any way, liquor, for a person to whom it had been forbidden to be sold, should be liable to punishment.

In 1878 petitions were first presented to the Legislature asking for the submission to the people of an AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION of the State, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages.

The matter was before the Senate only.

A joint resolution was introduced, providing for such submission. The result of the first vote upon the question was thirteen in its favor, seven against and thirteen not voting.

The final vote was thirteen in favor, fourteen against, and six not voting. About 15,000 names were signed to the petition presented this year.

In 1879 petitions were again presented asking for the submission of a prohibitory amendment.

This year there were about 40,000 names to the petitions; and memorials were presented representing about 100,000 of the citizens of the state. The matter was before both houses.

In the Senate the measure was defeated, the vote being eleven in favor, twenty against and two not voting.

In the Assembly the matter was indefinitely postponed. The vote not given.

In 1880, the matter was again before both houses of the Legislature.

In the Assembly the life was taken out of the joint resolution of submission by putting off the operations of the amendment until 1890, and by excepting from its operation beer, and possibly wine.

It barely passed the Assembly, in this diluted form, and was sent to the Senate where it was defeated by a vote of twelve in its favor, fourteen against, and seven not voting.

The result of the several votes in the assembly were as follows On a motion to indefinitely postpone, the motion was lost—38 in favor, 47 against and 15 not voting.

It was ordered to a third reading by the following vote: 50 for, 37 against, 13 not voting.

On the question of its final passage, it was defeated by the following vote: 44 in favor, 33 against, and 23 not voting. It requires a majority of all the members elect—51—to pass a resolution submitting an amendment to the constitution.

The last named vote was reconsidered, and the resolution

adopted by the following vote: 53 for, 44 against and 3 not voting.

In 1881, the matter was again before the assembly and was lost by the following vote: 40 in favor, 48 against and 12 not voting.

This vote was reconsidered, and the final vote was 39 in favor 51 against, and 10 not voting.

The question was not before the senate this year.

In 1882 it was again before the assembly.

On the question of ordering to a third reading, the vote was 43 for, 49 against and 8 not voting.

It was reconsidered the next day, and then immediately laid on the table without a count.

It will be noticed that the show for carrying the resolution for submission through the senate was better the first time it was presented in 1878 than it has ever been since.

In the assembly the first recorded vote in favor of the measure was 50 in its favor in 1880, while the last vote in its favor, in 1892, was but 43.

The republican party was largely in the majority in the legislature when these votes were taken.

What hope of the measure being carried by this party in view of these facts? The policy of the friends of the measure since has been to labor to make prohibition sentiment among the people, and to organize the sentiment when made, rather than to spend time in asking the legislature to grant what it is well known they would refuse.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Frank Burt.

The laws regulating the sale of spiritous and malt liquors when this state was formed are found in the Code of Virginia, 1860.

No free negro could be granted license to sell ardent spirits. A license to a white man to keep tavern, gave also the right to retail liquors. A merchant could get license to retail liquors by paying an additional fee (he could not be a merchant without procuring a license), provided the county court would certify that he was a person of good character. Distiller's license also gave privilege to retail liquors on the premises; but the party buying must not drink it there. The only restriction imposed on one having license to sell liquors, was that he should not sell to slaves.

In the year 1863, the legislature of this state enacted, that if boards of supervisors of any county could give to person applying for license to sell liquors, a certificate of good moral character and demeanor, and not of intemperate habits, they might issue license after taking bond in the penalty of not less than \$500 nor more than \$1000; conditioned, that person to be licensed would not permit any one to drink to intoxication on the premises, and not to sell to any person intoxicated or one known to have the habit of intoxication, nor to any person under 21 years of age, or on Sunday.

In 1865: enacted that places where liquor is sold must close on the day of an election and the night succeeding, if within two miles.

In 1866: enacted that *all* places where liquor is sold must be closed on the day preceeding, as well as on the day of an election, and made it unlawful to sell it or to permit it to be drank at such places on election days. Also unlawful for a person to be drunk at a place of holding an election.

In 1873 a law was enacted very similar to the Adair civil dam-

age law of Ohio, or the Austin law of Illinois, both of which are given elsewhere, but with the additional provisions that any person elected to any office shall forfeit same if it be proven that on the day of his election he offered to sell or give, or did so sell or give or distribute any intoxicating drink to any voter; and if *any* person did so offer or sell or distribute to any voter on election day, he forfeits \$20 to \$100. Engineers and railroad conductors intoxicated on duty, guilty of misdemeanor and liable to fine not exceeding \$500.

In 1877 a still more stringent law was enacted, which is still in force. Bond \$3,500, conditioned that any restriction violated by either selling or giving, shall render liable to prosecution. Unlawful to permit any person to drink to intoxication on the premises, to sell or give to any person intoxicated, or to one in the habit of becoming so, or one of unsound mind, or under 21 years of age, or to sell or give to any one on Sunday. Any husband, wife, child, parent, or guardian may serve notice (written) on any person engaged in the sale of intoxicating liquors, not to sell to the husband, wife, child, parent or ward, and thereafter the seller is liable for any damage to person, property or in means of support, and for exemplary damages, by reason of the intoxication of the person to whom sale was made in violation of such notice. The owner of place where liquor law is violated may be indicted for maintaining a public nuisance, and the place closed up. An officer with a warrant may break open any place where liquors are sold clandestinely, when necessary for the arrest or identification of the person selling. County court cannot grant license in incorporated towns without consent of Town Council.

For past ten years drug stores have multiplied in some parts of the state, and in many instances become vile doggeries. The law governing them in the sale of liquor has therefore been getting more strict. The following, passed in 1883, now governs: Druggists can only sell alcoholic liquors for medicinal, mechanical or scientific purposes, and no sale to be made except upon written prescription of a practicing physician in good standing in his profession and not of intemperate habits, specifying name of person and quantity to be furnished him, but no druggist who is himself a practicing physician can sell upon his own prescription. Upon two convictions the druggist loses his license.

The constitution of this state gives the legislature power to prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks within the state.

After 1860, and prior to 1872, this state was governed by the republicans, and all legislation was done by legislatures having republican majorities. Since 1872 the legislation has been done by legislatures having democratic majorities, and the executives have been democratic also.

With reference to the workings of the present and such liquor laws as we have heretofore had, would say: that the restrictions imposed under the license system seem to be worthless. When a person obtains license to sell, he generally sells without molestation. The restrictions seem to contemplate that no sales are to be made to intoxicate, but reverse results prevail from the nature of the business. The liquor law has no tendency to decrease the evil of alcoholic drink, except in counties and towns where the temperance element is strong enough to withhold license. In fact, nearly all the prosecutions are for selling without license in places where the sale is prohibited by withholding license. Prosecutions by indictment and jury trial do not effect any good; delays are too great and perjury is too common. When the municipal authorities under

their charter and ordinance take it in hand, illegal retailing can be in the main suppressed. Often, however, these authorities are in sympathy with the liquor interest and do not act, or acting it is done so irregularly as to render the proceedings defective.

The temperance people of this state have endeavored for past five years to get the legislature to submit to a vote of the people, an amendment to the constitution forever prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage. The petitions to the legislature for this purpose have been numerous and signed by the best men of the state. It requires a two-thirds vote in each branch of the legislature to submit this question. It passed the lower House in 1883, but was defeated in the Senate by two votes. The people have elected men enough to the legislature to have accomplished their desire, but have been frequently betrayed through the influence brought to bear by the liquor interest. The minority party (the republicans) have generally supported the measure. It is the general feeling that if the people get an opportunity to vote, they will adopt prohibition, and for this reason the liquor interest, while desiring to be rid of the question, yet dare not let it come to a vote. The democratic party during the present session of legislature exerted their influence against the measure. The republicans during the last campaign would have nothing to do with it. Had the legislature therefore, submitted it to vote and the people had declared for it, we should have had a law which neither party would have respected. There are thousands of voters in this state ready to join any party with the leading principle of prohibition engrafted in their platform. In more than two thirds of the counties, men are elected to the county court who will not grant license. Voters in this state are coming to believe more and more every day that there is no effectual way to be rid of the evil, except to banish the cause.

KANSAS.

A. M. Richardson.

The people of Kansas have been struggling against the liquor traffic ever since the organization of the state. Various forms of restriction, in the shape of license laws, have been tried, and yet intemperance steadily increased. The movement for a prohibitory amendment to the constitution was introduced into the legislature in February, 1879. We had at that time a stringent license law in force that secured Prohibition in the rural districts, and smaller towns of the state. But which by a provision that exempted cities of the first and second class from its operation furnished ample facilities for the sale of liquors, at the same time giving these cities a monopoly of the business. The temperance people of the state, resolved if possible, to have this obnoxious feature of the law repealed, as an important step towards Prohibition. They dared not ask for absolute Prohibition, lest they should be denied any favors. While the subject was under discussion in the legislature, in order to prevent the proposed modification of the existing statute, Senator Hamlin offered a joint resolution, submitting to the people of Kansas a proposition to amend Art 15 of the constitution so as to forever prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors except for medical, scientific and mechanical purposes. It seems to have been taken for granted, that so radical a measure would at once be rejected. But the temperance people gladly accepted the issue, in this unexpected form, and, during the two weeks that elapsed before it was called up for final action, they worked

like Trojans to secure its passage. It was offered Feb. 8 and put on its final passage on the 21st, when, to the surprise of everybody, *thirty-seven* senators voted for it, and *none* against it! One member was absent, and two refrained from voting. In the house it came up for action March 5, when the vote stood *eighty-seven* in favor, and *thirty-one* against it—ten members being absent, or not voting. And so the question was submitted to the people by a majority of 93 in both Houses—not reckoning those absent, or not voting. The date fixed, for voting on the proposed amendment, was that of the general election, Nov. 2, 1880.

Hon. John P. St. John was, at this time, governor of Kansas, having been first chosen in 1878. He was also President of the State Temperance Union—having been elected to that position in 1877—the year before he became Governor.

This organization undertook the work of canvassing the state for the carrying of the Prohibitory Amendment. An office was opened in Lawrence, and the supervision of the work was placed in charge of Rev. A. M. Richardson, who was first Vice President and General Agent of the Association. A subscription fund was started and agents and lecturers employed in nearly every county in the state. *The Kansas Temperance Palladium*, a weekly paper, edited by Jas. A. Troutman, Esq., was also published at the State Union Office and did valiant and most effective service for prohibition. In the summer of 1880, Gov. St. John was renominated on a strong Prohibition platform. The battle waxed hot all along the lines, until the memorable ides of Nov. 2, a day of glorious triumph for the cause of constitutional prohibition, and for the temperance people of Kansas.

The official count showed 92,302 votes in favor of the amendment and 84,304 against it, lacking only two votes of a majority of 8,000, the largest majority ever given for any of the amendments to the constitution, save one. Gov. St. John was also re-elected by 32,270 majority over both the democratic and greenback candidates.

The legislature, elected at the same time passed the prohibitory law for enforcing the amendment by a vote in the senate of 52 to 7—and in the house 100 to 23—making a majority of 102, exclusive of absentees, and those not voting. The prohibitory law went into effect May 1, 1881, and, with rare exceptions, the saloons throughout the state were closed, and, there is no doubt but they would have remained closed permanently, had the officers of the law performed their duty impartially. But adverse decisions of justices and judges, who were opposed to the law, raised legal questions, that could only be decided by the supreme court. Pending these decisions, the liquor sellers took heart, and began to sell again, in a quiet way. The temperance people, instead of pushing prosecutions, waited for these questions to be settled, thus encouraging the violators of the law, and losing much of the vantage ground already gained. No sooner, however, were the decisions of the supreme court, which were favorable to the enforcement of the law—promulgated, than its friends rallied for that purpose. And, from that time, until now, wherever Judges and prosecuting attorneys, have been determined to enforce it, *it has been enforced*. With judges like John Martin of Topeka, and many others, there has been no difficulty in obtaining convictions and enforcing the law.

At the last election John A. Martin was elected governor, upon a platform based upon the enforcement of the law. This is as far as the republican party dared to go, though it had pronounced unqualifiedly in favor of the law and the principle in 1882.

The temperance people of the state, however, demanded that the law be so amended as to render its enforcement more speedy and certain, and there were ominous signs in the political horizon which the party dare not ignore. The prohibitory sentiment in the state was, under the conviction that prohibition was insecure in the keeping of either of the old parties, rapidly crystalizing into third party action. Consequently the legislature, during the first week in March, 1885, passed an amendment providing that any city, county or state officer whose duty is to prosecute violators of the law shall, for a failure so to do, forfeit his office and be fined not to exceed \$500. The salutary effects of the law are well shown in the report of the county superintendent of schools for Shawnee county, just made public, in which it is shown that \$11,500 has been paid into the school fund of that county from liquor sellers fines; that there were, at the time the report was made, seventeen saloon men in the county prison for violating the law, and that there was not an open saloon in Topeka, the capital city of the state. The prohibitory law seems to discount John A. Logan's bill, even as a source of educational revenue.

MARYLAND.

Hon. Wm. Daniel.

The act of 1780, chapter 24, empowered the County Courts in session, to grant licenses to keep ordinaries to such persons as they shall think fit, being persons of good repute, to keep ordinaries in such, and as many places, within their respective counties, for the ease and convenience of the inhabitants, travellers and strangers, as to them may seem proper.

2. Power was given the courts to suspend them if disorderly.

3. They were required with two sufficient sureties, "to keep good rules and order, and not suffer loose, idle or dissolute persons, to tipple, game, or commit any disorder, or other irregularity in said ordinary."

They were prohibited from selling to apprentices or slaves.

And, by the 11th section, all persons were prohibited from selling, except merchants, but what they sold could not be drank in the stores.

Nor could the keeper of the ordinary, at a horse race, sell after sunset.

Now it is manifest from the legislation, that the license system was established solely for the purpose of regulating the sale of liquors, and for confining the right to sell to such number of persons, who kept Inns, as would, in the judgment of the Court, be sufficient for the accommodation of the public.

1. The Courts were to grant the licenses.

2. The persons, to whom this privilege was granted, were to be persons of "good repute."

3. They were required to enter into recognizance, "to keep good rules and order, and not suffer loose, idle or disorderly persons to tipple, game or commit any disorder."

In the year 1825 the legislature removed the restriction imposed by the original laws, which only granted licenses to persons of good repute, and in such numbers as were required for the public, and under the other restrictions named.

By the act of 1826, the power of the judges to grant licenses was taken away, and the county clerks were *directed* to grant licenses to ordinary keepers, upon their entering into recognizance before a justice of the peace that they would comply with the

provisions of the several laws of this state, relative to ordinary keepers.

Now even this restriction as much diminished as it was, as compared with the old law, was still some restriction, as it requires them to keep orderly houses.

It removes, however, all supervision as to the character of the men to whom license was given; and as to the numbers to whom given.

Then came the act of 1827, chapter 117, which required the clerks to grant licenses to sell liquors in such quantities, less than a pint to *all* keepers of ordinaries, grog shop, victualling and oyster houses, who would pay the licenses, the only exception being, that the grand jury should signify to the court, their opinion that a license ought not to be granted to any individual, or individuals, named in the list of applicants therefor, required to be laid before them; the clerk could not grant the same without the special direction of the court.

Next came the act of 1858, chapter 414, which was intended as a revenue measure alone, the only requirements for the granting of licenses being that in the case of ordinaries (such as hotels, &c.) and liquor saloons, beer shops, &c., where spirituous or fermented liquors are sold in quantities less than a pint, the applicant for a license should be recommended by "*two respectable freeholders of his immediate vicinity.*" Truly by no means a difficult condition to comply with. And even this last, nugatory restriction, if restriction indeed it could be called, so far as it relates to grog-shops, oyster houses, &c., was swept away by the act of 1862, chapter 119.

Thus was fully completed by these last two acts, and especial by the act of 1858, the entire change in the prior policy of the state, and which was inaugurated by the before-mentioned act of 1827.

And it is these last two acts that are now the law of the state as codified in our present code. Licenses by our present law are classed under three heads: 1st, those called "retailers' licenses," and where the sales are in quantities greater than a pint, the amount to be paid for, the same being according to the quantity of the stock kept on hand at the principal season of sale; 2nd, license to ordinaries, (hotels, &c.,) the amount being regulated by the rental; and thirdly, those to beer shops, liquor saloons, victualling houses, &c., the amount being \$50 in every case, and in both of the latter cases the sales being allowed in quantities less than a pint.

The old laws looked alone to the good of the community, and were restraining laws; designed to limit the right to sell liquors to a few selected men of good character, who kept taverns, and imposing upon them several wholesome and salutary restrictions to that end.

These more recent laws looked only to the revenue to the treasury.

1. License to sell liquors must be granted to any one who applies, regardless of character.
2. No discretion is given to the officers issuing them.
3. No restriction as to tippling; he may sell to any man, no matter how drunk he may be.
4. Though in violation of law, they do sell to minors every day.
5. Many of them permit gambling in their houses, in violation of law.

The only general laws, that are at all exceptional to these very loose license laws, (believed to be as bad or worse than those of any other state), is the law against selling liquor to minors, (and which is rarely enforced); that against selling on election days, and that against selling on the Sabbath day, the last named of which, the liquor fraternity have made strenuous efforts, within the last eight or ten years past, to get repealed.

In addition to this general legislation, local option laws have been passed authorizing many counties and localities to decide by ballot whether liquors should be sold. These laws are so similar in their nature that it is unnecessary to specify them in detail. They define the method and time of voting, make it illegal to sell in opposition to the vote, prescribe penalties, usually a fine not less than \$50 nor more than \$300, or imprisonment for thirty days. They also forbid sale by druggists except upon physician's prescription, and prescribe penalty for any physician who shall give such prescription except to person actually sick and in need of liquor as a medicine; also penalty for any person who shall procure such prescription by deceit. The penalty in the last two cases is fine of from \$50 to \$200, for the first offense and not less than \$200 nor more than \$500 for each subsequent offense. One half the fine goes to the informer and one half to the county school fund.

The net result of the agitation for Prohibition in this state, by the method of local option, more especially, has been the adoption of prohibition in the whole of Anne Arundel, Calvert, Caroline, Cecil, Harford, Howard, Kent and Montgomery counties; and in twelve of the fourteen election districts of Dorchester county; in nine out of about twenty districts in Frederick county; in five out of eleven districts in Garrett county; in six out of the seven districts in Queen Anne's county; in eight out of the nine districts in Somerset county; in four out of the five districts in Talbot county; in about seven localities in Baltimore county, and one in Allegany county.

The political complexion of the above counties is as follows: Anne Arundel, Cecil, Dorchester, Garrett, Harford, Howard, Kent, Montgomery, Queen Anne's and Talbot are Democratic, a number of them being the very strongholds of Democracy in this state. Frederick is Republican; while Caroline and Somerset are doubtful.

In the counties where Prohibition has been wholly defeated, as hereinbefore stated, Allegany, Charles and St. Mary's are Republican; Carroll, Wicomico and Worcester, are Democratic, and Prince George's is doubtful.

All the legislatures of Maryland, from 1868 to the present have been Democratic in both Houses, and for nearly the whole time about three-fourths Democratic on joint ballot.

From 1872 to 1874 Wm. Pinckney Whyte, (who was elected to the U. S. Senate in 1874) was governor, from 1874 to 1875, Jas. Black Groome, who filled the unexpired term of Whyte, was Governor. From 1875-79, Jno. Lee Carroll, from 1879-83, Wm. T. Hamilton, and in 1883, Robt. M. McLane, who is still Governor. All the above named are democrats, as was also Oden Bowie, who was Governor from 1867-71.

The prohibitory laws in these counties, have been generally well enforced, the counties of Prince George's and Calvert being the exceptions. The lack of proper enforcement in the former, was one of the principal reasons of its recent repeal.

NEW YORK.

[W. H. H. Bartram, in *The Voice*.]

In 1851 the Prohibition law was passed by the Legislature of Maine, and Prohibition at once became a question in the politics of the state of New York. It was at first confined to the legislative districts, but here it gained such a hold that, largely through the influence of that issue, the Legislature of this State, which in 1853 was constituted as follows: Senate: Whigs, 16; Democrats, 16; Assembly: Whigs, 42; Democrats, 86, was in the following year composed as follows, Senate: Whigs, 23; Democrats, 9; Assembly: Whigs, 78; Democrats 50. It was this Legislature which passed the Prohibitory Bill which Governor Seymour vetoed.

The Senate, led by Myron H. Clark, attempted to pass the bill over the Governor's veto, but failed to secure the requisite two-thirds vote, though the bill received 14 votes, while only 13 were cast against it. In the Assembly it met a similar fate, and the question was thus returned to the people.

The New York *Herald*, in an editorial on the veto, on Saturday, April 1st, 1854, said:

"The people of the State will turn aside from all the other political questions of the day. The various national questions now agitating Congress, such as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, may float about during the approaching agitation; but the principal issue, and the great contest will spring out of the bill just vetoed by Governor Seymour; and there can be no doubt that the organization of the old parties, and the various factions of them, will be smashed, and there will be, to a greater or less extent, a new division of parties on this issue.

"Hitherto, the history of the contest upon the temperance question has been a story of dodging on one side and skulking on the other, by the politicians of the old parties. They have temporized and traded between the radical men on both sides, and whether the temperance men trusted to the Whigs or Democrats the word of promise was kept to the ear but broken to the hope.

"A common dodge, and it has been tried in other States as well as New York, has been to make 'a good strong law,' and thus intrust its execution to officials who depend upon rum for their posts."

Mr. Seymour was renominated by the Democrats on his anti-Prohibitory sentiments, and the veto was circulated as a campaign document, it being reprinted in full in the New York *Herald* on October 21st. In that veto, Mr. Seymour not only gave his constitutional objections to the bill, but he added his opinion against Prohibition itself.

Mr. Bronson was the candidate of the hard-shell Democrats, and in a letter during the campaign declared his opposition to Prohibition, and favored the license system.

Mr. Ullman was nominated by the Know-Nothings, whose platform was silent on the question; but he was opposed to Prohibitory legislation.

Myron H. Clark was nominated by the Whigs, and subsequently at Auburn, on September 26th, by a State Temperance Convention, and by the Free Democrats, and still later, by the first Republican Convention held in the State, at Angelica, on October 15th. The Free Democrats in their platform declared in favor of Prohibitory legislation. The State Temperance Convention passed strong resolutions on this question, from which the following extracts are made:

"We advocate, and will labor for the enactment of a law prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating beverages. . . . We regard the enactment of such a law as the greatest and most vital issue in State politics, and we cannot subordinate this question to any other, nor defer its settlement to any more convenient season. . . . We ask a Legislature that will enact such a law, a Governor who will approve, and magistrates and other officers who will enforce it."

Myron H. Clark was nominated for Governor by acclamation, and Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*, was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor on that platform, and both having accepted the nomination, were subsequently nominated by the Angelica Republican convention.

The vote in the State was as follows: Clark, 156,804; Seymour, 156,495; Ullman, 122,282; Bronson, 85,850; Clark's plurality, 309. Thus, the State was carried for Prohibition when the Governor received only 17 more than one-third of the total votes cast. The same issues prevailed in the election of the Legislature, which was composed as follows: Senate: Whigs, 22; Democrats, 10. Assembly: Whigs, 82; Democrats, 41; Maine Law Independents, 3.

The bill vetoed by Governor Seymour was repassed April 9th, 1855, and was made to take effect July 4th of that year.

A test case was carried to the Court of Appeals, which is reported in Vol. 13, page 378, and is entitled *Wynehamer vs. People*.

The Court held that the act violated the Constitution, which provides that no person shall be deprived of his property without due process of law. As the act applied to liquors owned or possessed at the time it took effect, it virtually deprived the owners of their property. The section which provided for the trial of accused persons before a Court of Special Sessions was also held invalid, as it deprived them of the right of trial by jury.

Under this decision, all that was requisite to bring the law under the Constitution was to grant trial by jury, and make it apply only to liquors made or purchased after it took effect; but, instead of doing this, the Legislature elected in the following November passed a license law.

That Legislature was constituted as follows; Senate: Republicans, 16; Americans, 11; Democrats, 4; Temperance, 1. Assembly: Republicans, 81; Americans, 8; Democrats, 31; Americans and Democrats, 8. Thus, we find that, whereas the State two years before had been carried for Prohibition, the Republican party having elected its candidate for Governor, John A. King, by a plurality of 65,424, and having a majority in the Senate, with the one Temperance Senator, of two votes, and in the Assembly a majority of 37 votes, we find that, instead of maintaining what had been gained by making Prohibition a leading question, that Republican Legislature, the first in this State, restored the license policy to the State, and thus adopted license as the Republican plan of dealing with the liquor traffic. From 1854 until the organization of the Prohibition party in 1869, no reference was made in any State platform in this State to the question of Prohibition. Since that time, that party, in its annual Conventions, has virtually adopted the platform on which Mr. Clark was elected, "a legislature to enact, a Governor to sign, and officers to enforce Prohibitory legislation." Three years later, in 1872, the sixteenth resolution of the Republican national platform was declared by its author to have been adopted with the understanding that its object was to condemn Prohibitory and Sunday legislation. This resolution was endorsed by the Republican Convention of this State. In 1876,

four years after the Republicans in their national platform had committed their party to oppose Prohibition, the Democratic National Convention adopted a resolution opposing all sumptuary laws, and that position has been reaffirmed in all subsequent National Conventions. The party, in its several State Conventions in this State, has endorsed this action.

In no State Convention of any party, in this State, except the Prohibition, has there been, since 1854, any resolution adopted condemning the license policy.

In the Richfield Springs Republican State Convention of 1883, the following resolution was adopted:

"We believe in the wisdom of the people in deciding all questions pertaining to the public welfare, and would accede to the desire of a large body of our citizens to submit to the voters of the State, Constitutional Amendment in regard to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors."

This resolution in no way defined the policy of the party on the question, further than to declare a willingness to allow the people an opportunity to decide by a vote on "a Constitutional Amendment in regard to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks," what the subsequent legislative policy of the State should be, no matter what party should be intrusted with this legislation.

From a letter dated Little Valley, N. Y., October 2d, 1884, and signed Charles Z. Lincoln, the following extracts are made:

"I had the honor to represent the Second District of Cattaraugus County in the Republican State Convention of 1883, held at Richfield Springs. One object I had in attending that Convention was to see what could be done toward committing the party, in some degree at least, to the cause of Prohibition; not that I expected the party could be unqualifiedly committed to prohibition as a principle of immediate party action, as that was too much to hope at the outset. * * * At the election the preceeding year the Prohibitionists polled about 26,000 votes. This showed such a growth of the prohibition sentiment throughout the State as to demand some attention. * * * After conversing with delegates from different parts of the State, representing various shades of opinion on this question, I prepared and introduced a resolution favoring the submission to the people of a Prohibitory Constitutional Amendment. The substance of it was embodied in a plank of the platform, and the party became thereby pledged to give the people an opportunity, at the polls, to express their opinion on the subject of Constitutional Prohibition."

Under this pledge the republicans elected 70 members of the Assembly, and the democrats 53. Mr. Olin, of Broome, was elected by the joint votes of the republicans and prohibitionists, and became the champion of the Constitutional Amendment, which was defeated by the following vote: 61 ayes, 63 nays, 9 democrats voting for the Amendment and 17 republicans against it; among the latter being Mr. Roosevelt, the recognized leader of the republican majority. Thus, with 9 democrats voting against this party platform for submission, the republicans, with 17 majority in the Assembly, failed to redeem their party pledge to allow the people to decide what the future policy of the state should be on this question. Thus closes the last chapter of the history of prohibition in this state, which shows the democratic party unalterably opposed to prohibition, the republican party responsible for the present license policy of the state, and guilty of breaking a party pledge in order to deny the people the privilege of changing that policy and restoring prohibition, which was made the state policy by being made a party

issue in 1854, so that the prohibition party was left the only party in the state which favors prohibition either as a party or state policy.

In a letter dated December 27th, 1884, written by ex-Governor Myron H. Clark, to the writer of this article, he says:

"Prohibition was one of the leading questions which led to my election as Governor."

That election was, as already stated, secured by 156,804 votes in a total of 469,432 votes, which would require about 400,000 votes in this state at the present time to have prohibition as strong, relatively, as it was when Mr. Clark was elected Governor on that distinctive issue, and we leave it for the people to decide how soon, under the policy of non-partisan action, which has restored license and has maintained it, prohibition can be secured in this state?

FLORIDA.

J. Wofford Tucker.

Florida was admitted into the Union March 3d, 1845, and from that time until 1883 the tendency of temperance legislation was in the direction of rather liberal license laws.

Early in 1883 the General Assembly enacted a stringent license law, with a local option feature. It prohibits the issue of license except upon petition of a majority of the registered voters of the precinct or election district in which the dram-shop is to be located. Each signature to such petition must be attested by two responsible witnesses and published for two weeks before the application is made to the county board. Dealers have sought by every species of fraud to evade the law. Twice or three times legal questions have been raised against the constitutionality, and other features of the statute, before the Supreme Court, and have been decided in favor of the law.

Much good has been accomplished, even under the disadvantages of an experiment. The saloons have been reduced in number and entirely suppressed within six counties. The legislature was democratic, but all parties joined in passing the law.

Hon. W. D. Blocham, a democrat, was the Governor who approved the law.

NEVADA.

Hon. John M. Dorrner.

Nevada is a comparatively new state, and has had little in the way of either temperance legislation or agitation, though interest in the general subject is on the increase and some efforts have been made of late to secure somewhat stringent legislation. The declared object, however, is to provide "revenue" rather than to restrict the traffic. To this end a bill was introduced by Mr. Fassett on Jan. 13th, 1885, and soon after passed the house, but up to the present writing (Feb. 13) had not passed the senate. It raises the license fee to \$50 per month in towns of five hundred or more inhabitants, and in all other cases to \$10 per month, except for persons selling in connection with houses of entertainment for travelers, one mile or more outside the limits of a town or city, who shall pay \$15 per quarter. The proposed law prohibits the sale on any election day.

The present law is a general license law, requiring a fee of about \$40 per quarter to be paid to the state, and subject to further fee according to municipal regulations where liquor is sold. It prohibits selling or giving to minors under penalty of \$25 to \$100, or imprisonment not to exceed fifty days, or both. The law is not generally enforced. It was passed by a republican legislature and approved by Governor L. R. Bradley a democrat.

TEXAS.

In 1873 E. L. Dohoney, then a member of the state senate, introduced what was properly called the "Ohio liquor law," the distinguishing feature of which was to hold the seller responsible for all damage. This passed a second reading, but was defeated on the final vote. About five years ago Senator W. R. Homan introduced a similar bill, which was again defeated.

But in 1875 Mr. Dohoney, being a member of the constitutional convention which framed the present constitution of the state, with the aid of the farmers, preachers and a few others in that body, succeeded in engrafting into the constitution a mandatory provision which required the legislature at its first session thereafter, to enact a law by which counties, justice-precincts and towns, might by a vote of the qualified electors abolish the liquor traffic within the prescribed limits. This compelled the legislature of 1876 to enact the present local option law; under which prohibition has been put into effect in a large number of the counties, justice-districts and villages of the state. Wherever the officers have done their duty, the law has been enforced and has resulted in great good. But in many localities the failure or refusal to execute the law has brought it into disrepute and resulted in its repeal.

In January, 1881, Mr. Dohoney procured a copy of the Kansas constitutional amendment, which was introduced in the Texas senate by Hon. W. J. Swam, the present comptroller. The resolution passed the senate but was defeated in the house by money raised by the liquor men.

In 1883 another effort at a constitutional amendment was made but defeated.

The state central committee is now circulating petitions to the present legislature which convened January, 1885, again asking the submitting of a constitutional amendment.

IOWA.

This new state has a brief but instructive prohibition history. It was admitted as a state Dec. 25, 1846. The fruits of the agitation which produced prohibitory and anti-license in almost all the northern states between 1845 and 1856, produced in 1855 a prohibitory law in Iowa, passed by the whig and republican legislature, and approved by Gov. Grimes. "Its vitality was dependent upon adoption by the people at the ballot box. The people adopted it. The next legislature but one practically annulled it, without asking the people whether they would sanction this summary setting aside of their verdict as given at the polls. Every means was employed to secure re-enactment of the law, or else the re-submission of the subject to the people, but without avail. It was finally decided by some leading minds to ask Prohibitionists to withhold their suffrages from the various parties, and endeavor by show of strength to demonstrate the necessity of their vote to any party which desired to remain in power in the state. To this end, and as a guaranty of good faith in their profession of desire to co-operate with the republicans as the dominant party whenever the temperance issue should be properly recognized, the temperance party steadily refused to nominate more than one candidate in any campaign, one name being sufficient to rally and show the strength of the movement, and to show the importance or unimportance of the prohibition vote.

The temperance party was organized in 1875, and J. H. Lozier nominated as its first candidate for governor. He received but

1,397 votes, while Kirkwood, the republican candidate, was elected with a majority of 30,179 votes. This looked somewhat like failure, and the republican party did not feel compelled to give to prohibition the demanded recognition. In 1877 the republicans again ignored the issue, and nominated J. H. Gear, while Col. Jessup became the candidate for the prohibitory vote. He received 10,639 votes, being almost eight times as many as were cast for Lozier only two years before. Mr. Gear ran behind his ticket and was a minority governor, lacking 674 of a majority. All other names on the ticket were given strong majorities. This change was a very suggestive one, and Jessup's vote was not the occasion of so much hilarity among politicians as was that of Lozier. One more such stride, or even a six-fold increase, would depose the republican and put some other party in power, the position of the Prohibitionists still being: Recognize our cause, and we will merge our force with yours. The republican convention of 1879 came on. It was desired to renominate J. H. Gear, and to elect him this time by a majority vote. The Prohibitionists were on hand, and so far as those present could speak for the convention to assemble five days later, guaranties were given that no candidate would be nominated, provided the standing prayer of the prohibitory element were granted. There were just then no such important reconstruction problems unadjusted to specially hold republican voters, as had been the case in each preceeding campaign, and the most sagacious politicians feared the result if they nominated Gear, an avowed opponent of the principle, and also failed to give favorable recognition of the issue in the action of the convention. As the result of the conference, the republican convention did adopt a resolution which was referred to in the platform of two years later as making "provisions for submission of the so-called prohibitory amendment of the constitution of Iowa to a vote of the people." Was the "temperance party" dead, a failure, or abandoned as yet? It was tolerably active for a defunct body, as the largest convention in its history met the week after the republican convention and held a vigorous session. Under the circumstances referred to, however, it was determined to put no candidate in the field, save that a small portion of the convention who would not vote for Gear under any circumstances, withdrew from the convention and nominated D. R. Dungan, who, as an independent, received 3,258 ballots. The result of this union was that Gear, though running considerably behind his ticket, was elected by a majority of 23,828."(20)

In accordance with the pledges made, the republican legislature of 1880-81 prepared a prohibitory amendment and passed it. By the provisions of the constitution it laid over for action by the legislature of 1881-82 thus giving the people an opportunity to elect a new legislature in full view of the pending amendment. The second and final legislative vote adopted the amendment by a vote of 65 to 24 in the house, and 35 to 11 in the senate. On the 27th of June, 1882, at a special election, there were cast for the amendment, 155,436 votes and against it 125,677; majority, 29,759. This was hailed as a great and decisive victory, and it sufficiently proved the great underlying fact—the *people want prohibition*.

But the resources of the alcoholists were not exhausted. A test case was made and upon its reaching the supreme court the amendment was declared invalid owing to some alleged technicalities. A rehearing of the case resulted in a similiar decision.

Great confusion resulted. As usual the politicians only yielded a reluctant consent to the demand of the people. The opponents of prohibition were vigorous and did their best to secure at the

election Oct. 9, 1883, a legislature which would enact a license law. The democratic party espoused this side and openly advocated it. The republicans, in a rather vague and uncertain way, depending on the sentiment of the locality, advocated prohibition, if they said anything about it, some condemning, others strongly defending the principle. The party was in the dilemma a party always must be, in attempting to take on an issue not originally embraced in its creed. Still the general result was favorable. The republicans carried the state, electing a majority which said: "The people want prohibition and they shall have it." A strong and carefully prepared prohibitory statute was enacted which went into effect July 4, 1884, and the Iowa Prohibitionists were at the end of their troubles—the first end.

MAINE.

Settlements began in the territory now constituting the state of Maine, in 1623, but politically it was a part of Massachusetts until 1820, when it became a state. Whatever legislation it had was that of Massachusetts, and the progress of events was similar. While Boston merchants were pushing the African trade, sending out rum and bringing back slaves, enterprising citizens of Maine were sending lumber to the West Indies, bringing back some Spanish dollars, and much molasses, which was converted into rum and drank by the people. Accordingly general poverty existed. Outside of the "merchants" (rum-sellers) there were few men of wealth; general coarseness and severe brutality prevailed. Few houses in the country towns were not ornamented with old hats in the place of broken panes.

A temperance society was organized in Portland, April 24, 1812, and in Bath the same year. These proposed to discountenance drunkenness. They had no higher aim. To be "sparing and cautious" in the use of liquors was their effort. (See Liquor Problem, Page 202.) The advance towards total abstinence was similar to that in other portions of the country. The "Washingtonian" movement found a good field in Maine. It was a great awakening; earnest men all over the land had revelations.

Among these were Gen. James Appleton of Marblehead, Massachusetts, a member of the Massachusetts legislature. While listening to a debate upon a license bill in that body in 1831, he was suddenly seized with the idea that if, as appeared by the debate, the sale of liquor was so baneful to the public, it should not be licensed at all, but rather forbidden altogether.

He advocated this doctrine in the *Salem Gazette*.

In 1833 he removed to Portland, Maine. Here he advocated prohibition, and with such ability and success that he was elected to the Maine legislature in 1837. He presented petitions for prohibition which he secured from his neighbors. These were referred to a "joint select committee," of which he was chairman, and his "Report" was, according to the *Maine Temperance Advance* of Feb. 12, 1853, "the first announcement of the prohibitory principle and is the origin of the Maine law."

Meantime in the same city of Portland there was a young man whose growing interest in the question was destined to bear rich fruit. This was Neal Dow, "whose first public appearance as an advocate of prohibition was in 1839, when he appeared before the Board of Aldermen of his own city to induce them to refer the question of license or no-license to a vote of the citizens." (14) He was then thirty-five, and the next twelve years put him into such

relations to the History of Prohibition as to make him, though not the earliest among the most conspicuous, of its advocates. He vigorously presented the doctrine, travelling in 1846 over 4000 miles in the state addressing the people. (15) The legislature that year was elected on that issue. A prohibitory bill passed the house by a vote of 81 to 42, and the Senate by 23 to 5. It was approved by Gov. Anderson, and stands as the first prohibitory liquor law in a christian state.

But it was ineffective; penalties were light. No one knew what it involved to fight the liquor traffic. In 1849 a more stringent bill was passed but it was vetoed by Gov. Dana. In 1850 Mr. Dow introduced an amended bill containing the "search and seizure" clauses, but it was lost by a tie vote in the senate. (16) The following year Mr. Dow appeared with his bill perfected: it passed by a vote of 86 to 40 in the House and 18 to 10 in the senate, was signed by Governor Hubbard and became a law June 2d, 1851. Meanwhile Mr Dow had been elected mayor of Portland.

"All eyes were turned upon Maine to see if she would execute her law. Will the mayor of Portland stand firm at his post and do his duty or will he shrink in fear of mobs and riots? He speedily announced his purpose to execute the law, and gave venders sixty days in which to dispose of their liquors and get out of the business. The mayors of other cities issued similar proclamations. On the morning of the 4th of July the mayor of Bangor seized, confiscated and destroyed ten casks of liquor. Mr. Dow, according to promise, issued his search-warrant, seized about two thousand dollars worth of liquors, and publicly destroyed them." (17) In other cities the same promptness and energy were exhibited, great concourses of people witnessing the destruction with respectful silence. It was demonstrated that a prohibitory law could be enforced.

The dominant party up to this time had been democratic. But parties were disintegrating. The slavery issue was splitting them. All parties furnished votes for and against the prohibitory law, and this new issue began to gather a party. The "rum" element of the democratic party opposed the re-election of Gov. Hubbard and with whig sympathizers cast 21,774 votes for an "anti-Maine law" candidate. Wm. G. Crosby, whig, was elected governor by the legislature, there being no choice by the people. The next year, 1853, "the anti-Maine Law wing of the democracy controlled the democratic state convention and nominated Pillsbury (anti-prohibition) for Governor. The temperance democrats bolted and nominated Anson P. Morrill. In the election Pillsbury had 36,386 votes, Morrill 11,027, Crosby (whig) 27,061, and Holmes (free soil) 8,996. The legislature elected Crosby again. In 1854 the temperance democrats, whigs and free-soilers united, formed the nucleus of the republican party, which declared for prohibition and free soil and gave Morrill 44,565 votes. The democratic candidate had 28,462, the whig 14,001, scattering 3,478. There being no choice by the people the republican legislature elected Morrill. In 1855 the various elements which had enacted the Maine Law in 1851 and had elected Morrill the year before, met as the republican party, declared for Prohibition and Free Soil and renominated Morrill. The democrats nominated Wells, declared against Prohibition and made this their most prominent issue in the campaign. The vote stood, Morrill 51,441, Wells 48,341, Reed (Whig) 14,001. The democratic legislature elected Wells governor, repealed the Prohibitory law, and enacted a license law. In the election of 1856 the republicans won. In accordance with the judgment of many Prohibitionists who thought their cause could stand better if

the people could have a chance to see the full working of license, no action was taken on the subject till after the election of 1857. At the session of the legislature in 1858 the republicans repealed the license law and re-enacted the Prohibitory law, submitting the law for the popular verdict. (18.) It was ratified by the people with a majority of 22,952. Thus early was the timidity and time-serving of politicians apparent, and the loyalty of the masses to prohibition demonstrated.

Since 1858 no attempt has been made to repeal the Prohibitory Law. The politicians have had no love for it, but like some of old "they feared the people" too much to attempt its repeal. But the policy of non-enforcement was open to them, to some extent; and in the cities and larger towns into which the vicious elements of society are more apt to drift, great laxity has existed.

"From that day to this, with occasional revivals, the principle of prohibition has been gradually moved towards the rear by the political managers, while the *policy* of prohibition has been retained, as a convenient instrumentality for retaining temperance votes, and securing liquor votes.

The rightful order has been thus reversed, and instead of putting temperance into politics, (which is so much needed,) they have put *politics into temperance*." (19)

It is to this that is to be attributed the persistent continuance of an illicit traffic to some extent.

The legislature of 1882 by a vote of 91 to 30 in the House and 23 to 2 in the senate submitted a Prohibitory Constitutional Amendment, which was voted on at the general election Sept. 8th, 1884, and it was ratified by a majority of 46,972.

VIRGINIA.

Rumsey Smithson.

The laws of Virginia up to 1860 were in the nature of mild license laws. In the code of 1860, page 224, we find a somewhat more rigid law, making it illegal to either sell liquor or rectify or distil ardent spirits without license. Those who manufactured cider, or distilled from fruit or grain raised by themselves, were exempt from the law, provided their distilleries did not run more than four months in the year. The penalty for distilling, brewing or rectifying without license was from \$30 to \$200, and for selling without license, \$60. These sections did not apply to those who sold from products of their own raising, at the place where manufactured, if not sold to be drunk on the premises. Any person selling to a slave without written consent, forfeited to the master of such slave four times the value of the liquor sold, and was liable to a fine of \$20. In addition, the violator of the last two provisions was liable to have his license revoked. A person who gave a written permit to a slave to purchase liquor for him, with intent to sell the same, forfeited \$20 and must give security for good behavior for one year.

In 1873 the sale from sunset the day before until sunrise the day after any election was made illegal, the violator being deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and liable to fine of not more than \$100 and imprisonment not to exceed one year.

At the session of 1883-4, the legislature passed an act providing for three kinds of licenses, viz: wholesale dealers, retail merchants and bar-room keepers. The first could not sell in quantities less than five gallons; the second could sell in quantities less than five gallons, not to be drunk on the premises; the third in quantities

less than five gallons, to be drunk on the premises only. Any person desiring to sell in any two or more of these methods must take out license for both. Wholesalers of malt liquors might sell in bottles or jugs in quantities not less than one dozen. The law applied to clubs and corporations as well as to individuals. Violators were subject to fine, not less than \$100 nor more than \$500, and to imprisonment not exceeding twelve months in the discretion of the court. Persons who felt aggrieved by the issuance of license could contest the application for the same, and after hearing the evidence on both sides, the court could refuse the license, or, if he thought person and place proper and suitable, might grant the same. In the latter case the applicant must give bond in not less than \$250 nor more than \$500 for faithful compliance with the law. Appeal could be taken to the circuit court by either party. The decision of the circuit court, or of a circuit judge in vacation was final, and no farther appeal or writ of error allowed.

Druggists must take out license as retail dealers, and were subject to the same penalties.

In addition to these general laws, special laws for localities, and charters for towns and cities, authorize the voters to decide by ballot whether licenses shall be granted, and it is provided that the state law shall in no way interfere with these local option laws. Under these laws a number of localities prohibit the sale. There is also a law prohibiting the sale on Sunday, or to minors.

The law of 1866 was passed by a democratic legislature and approved by Governor Letcher, democrat. That of 1873 was also passed by the democrats, who assumed at that time the name "true republicans," and was approved by Governor Gilbert C. Walker. The act of 1883-4 was passed by a legislature largely democratic, and was approved by Governor Cameron, republican, elected upon a re-adjuster platform.

NORTH CAROLINA.

R. H. Whitaker.

The following is the gist of temperance laws in North Carolina:

1. We have a minor law, which forbids selling to minors, but can't say at what session it was passed.
2. We have a Sunday law.
3. We have an election law, which is, I believe, a constitutional provision.
4. We have a local option law, which authorizes townships to vote upon the question of selling liquor.
5. And we have the act which authorized the people of the state to vote upon the question of prohibition in 1881.
6. In addition to all which, we have hundreds of acts of incorporation prohibiting the sale of liquor within certain distances of churches, schools, etc. Beyond this general statement I am not prepared to go.

COLORADO.

John Hipp.

The following are the main features of our liquor laws. They were all passed by a republican legislature and governor. Our state being overwhelmingly republican. Our present legislature consists of 54 republicans and 21 democrats.

- (1.) In the country districts the county commissioners are allowed to control sales less than one quart; above that quantity the permit is given by the state government, and the commissioners cannot regulate or abolish the sale.

- (2.) The board of trustees or common council, of every incorporated town or city shall have exclusive authority to license saloons, and all places where intoxicating liquors are sold by

quantities less than one quart. But saloons are open in nearly every town seven days in the week and as many hours as profitable. Greeley, Colorado Springs, Evans, Loveland, Longmont, and one or two small towns have prohibition by special legislation, or by electing prohibition aldermen.

(3.) We have a clause in the constitution demanding that the General Assembly shall by law prohibit the manufacture and sale of adulterated liquors, but no attention is paid to it whatever.

(4.) Any one suffering through a common drunkard can give notice to all saloonkeepers not to sell to this drunkard, and if sales can afterward be proved to have been made, exemplary damages and costs may be collected from the one selling, and such sale also forfeits any lease on such premises, but the damages must be collected from the *saloonkeeper alone*. This is also a dead-letter, as few saloonkeepers have enough property to satisfy such claim.

(5.) The republican party in its state convention last summer promised to submit a prohibitory amendment to the people. Petitions are being widely circulated to ask them to fulfill this promise, but there seems to be no probability of its being done.

TENNESSEE.

Tennessee was admitted into the Union in 1796. From that time until the "Four Mile Law" was enacted, if there was any special temperance legislation, we are ignorant of what it was. For the following interesting account of the Four Mile Law and its workings, we are indebted to Mr. R. L. Hayes, of Nashville:

"This law was passed March 19, 1877, by a democratic legislature, John C. Brown, Governor, and reads as follows. "Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the state of Tennessee, that it shall not hereafter be lawful for any person to sell or tippie any intoxicating beverages within four miles of any institution of learning in the state, and any one violating the provisions of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction, shall be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than two hundred and fifty dollars, and imprisonment for a period of not less than one, nor more than six months.

SEC. 2. Be it further enacted that this act shall not apply to the sale of such liquors within the limits of any incorporated town, nor to sales made by persons having licenses to make the same, at the date of this act, during the time for which such licenses were granted, nor sales by manufacturers of such liquors in wholesale packages or quantities.

SEC. 3. Be it further enacted that this act take effect from and after its passage, the public welfare requiring it."

An amendment making the law apply to towns and taxing districts of less inhabitants than five thousand was enacted by the democratic legislature of 1882, but has since been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the state.

Over one hundred towns in the state have abolished their corporation charters, in order to come under the provisions of the law, and it is safe to say that two-thirds of the state is now under its operation. In Judge N. W. McConnell's judicial district (eight counties) there is not a single legalized dram shop. Where the law has been enforced, crime and pauperism have decreased over sixty per cent. Judge Robert Cantrell, and Judge N. W. McConnell deserve great credit for the manner in which they have enforced the law in their districts. The law, where it has been enforced, has proven such a blessing that no political party dare attempt its repeal. It was rather by accident, than otherwise, that the law was secured.

Gen. Johnson, who has a school up in the mountain district of the state, was tormented by several saloons, in vicinity; so much so, that he was compelled to get clear of the saloons, or remove his school. He came to Nashville and asked the legislature to give him the "Four Mile Law." This was on the eve of the adjournment of the legislature, and it was hurried through without a dissenting vote; it was not passed as a temperance measure, but for the protection of Gen. Johnson's school. For two years the people of the state were ignorant of the fact that they had a law on the statute books equal, almost, to the best prohibitory law in the nation. An advertisement giving this as one of the advantages possessed by Gen. Johnson's school, was the first thing that attracted the attention of the public. About this time a convention of Good Templars was held at Goodlettsville, a proposition to petition the legislature for a local option law was under consideration, and it was then suggested that as all laws enacted in Tennessee, must be, to be in harmony with the constitution, of a general character, that is, apply to the whole state, and if such was the fact we had a better law than local option, because, with local option it would require a majority of all the voters in a district, whereas with the "Four Mile Law" any five citizens could charter a school. A resolution was introduced calling for a committee to investigate the matter, which was agreed to by the convention and the following parties appointed by the chairman: R. L. Hayes, Jas. A. Herman, and J. M. Shivers, Esq. This committee, it is needless to say, found the law to be all that their hopes expected; sub-committees were appointed throughout the state, blank charters printed and distributed, and in less than one year half of the state was under the operation of one of the best laws ever enacted for the protection of the home."

SOUTH CAROLINA.

H. F. Chretzberg.

Prior to 1880, South Carolina was under general license laws. Intoxicants were sold at almost every crossroads grocery as well as elsewhere. In 1880, when Hon. Johnson Hagood (democrat) was governor, the legislature enacted a bill of which the following is a part: "No license for the sale of spirituous or intoxicating liquors shall be granted in South Carolina outside of the incorporated cities, towns and villages of this state; and it shall be unlawful for any person or persons to sell such liquors without a license so to do." The bill provided that when applications for license in incorporations were made, the party applying was required to pay into the treasury of the county, in which said corporation was located, the sum of \$100 for county purposes, the \$100 to be in addition to the license fee charged by the town. He must also be recommended by six respectable tax-payers of his neighborhood, and give a bond of \$1,000, with three good sureties, freeholders, owning property to the value of \$500—over and above all liabilities, "for the keeping of an orderly house, and for the due observance of all laws relating to the retailing of spirituous liquors."

The sales of all wines, fruits prepared with spirituous liquors, bitters and other beverages of which spirituous liquors formed an ingredient, were subject to the same conditions above set forth.

The penalty for not observing requirements of the act is not less than \$200 or six months imprisonment, or both fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the judge presiding. One half of the fine to go the detective. The county commissioners are charged

specially with the duty of obtaining information as to violations of the law, and are to institute prosecutions therefor.

The act further requires: "Willfully furnishing any intoxicating drink, by sale, gift, or otherwise, to any person of known intemperate habits, or to any person when drunk or intoxicated, or to a minor, or to any insane person for use as a beverage, shall be held and deemed a misdemeanor," subject to a fine of from \$10 to \$100, or imprisonment for from 10 to 60 days.

Wives, parents or guardians notifying saloonkeepers not to furnish by sale, or gift liquors to members of the family, such notification would continue in force for three months, subject to severe penalties.

Sunday sales prohibited: "It shall not be lawful for any person to sell, trade, or barter, any spirituous or malt liquors, cider, or wine on Sunday." Penalty \$10 to \$200, or imprisonment 10 to 60 days.

DRUGGISTS: "It shall not be lawful for any apothecary or druggist, except upon the prescription of a regular physician for a patient upon whom he is in attendance, or other person, to sell, trade, or barter any bitters of which spirituous or malt liquors are an ingredient, or any other medicated liquor, by the bottle or by the drink, to any person, unless such apothecary, druggist, or other person, shall obtain a license to sell such liquors as provided in this chapter." Penalties same as for selling without license.

It is also provided that licenses must be exposed to public view; sales must be in rooms on public streets, without screens, curtains or other devices for preventing the passing public from fully viewing what may be transpiring within.

Upon conviction for selling on Sunday, or without a license, besides the fines imposed, two years must elapse before license, can be granted again. Should any be granted within that time they would be utterly without effect and afford no protection.

In 1882, Hon. Hugh Thompson, governor, democrat, the legislature passed what is known as "A LOCAL OPTION LAW."

* * * * This law is the basis of the present temperance struggle in the state. It applies to incorporated cities, towns and villages only, and does not interfere with the prohibitory law in places outside of such municipalities. The law provides that a special election for license or no license shall be ordered whenever a number of citizens equal to one third the votes cast at the preceding election shall so petition, and the status of the matter shall remain as decided at such election for two years thereafter. License shall expire at the close of the year in which granted. The act does not apply to any place in which the sale of liquor is or shall be prohibited by special legislative enactment. Druggists may not sell except upon certificate of a practicing physician, in actual attendance upon a patient, nor may a physician give such certificate except when in bona fide attendance upon a patient. Penalty, fine not less than \$200, or imprisonment not less than three months, or both. The law covers "bitters" and "fruits prepared with liquors as well as liquors themselves."

In a number of municipalities in the state the sale of liquor is prohibited by special legislation.

Under this act many towns to-day are under prohibition, while many have tried at the ballot box to overthrow the saloon power, but have been defeated. The legislature of 1883 amended the local option law, so that elections could be held every two years instead of annually. Hence a town voting say Dec. 1, 1884, and "no license" prevails, the election must stand for two years.

What good has it all done? Well there are numerous sections in this state where there is not a dram shop and liquors cannot be had for love or money. I am reliably informed by the Presiding Elder of the Marion District covering large sections of Marlboro, Marion and Henry counties, that there is not a place where liquors are legally sold throughout the bounds of his district. To my knowledge there is not a licensed bar room in Marlboro, Marion, Henry, Spartanburg, Pickens, Laurens, Barnwell, Union counties. Only one place has bar rooms in Sumter, Clarendon, Kershaw, Chesterfield, Greenville, Edgefield, Williamsburg, Pickens, Oconee counties. There are but two places in Colleton, Hampton, Georgetown, Beaufort, Anderson counties, where there are licensed bar rooms. There may be other counties which might be added to the list, but of them I am not informed. Aiken county at a late election voted whisky out of its bounds, but there is a hitch somewhere which the advocates of the law are now trying to overcome. If successful bar rooms must go. The change is so marked where county seats are without bar rooms, that grand juries are recommending that the people hold on to no license. Wherever the law is enforced peace, good order, etc., reigns. As there are but thirty-four counties in the state, the efficiency of the law is apparent.

How does the law work? Like a charm when the authorities do their duty. The law never has been a failure—all failures are to be attributed to the inefficiency of liquor committed councils.

To what extent is the law enforced? In some places to the letter. But be it said to our sorrow in many sections the officers in charge of the law are whisky pets, and consequently clandestine sales are passed by. The desire for office is so strong—even if it is for the little office of county commissioner—that such officers are afraid to act for fear of becoming unpopular. I have seen some such officers hanging around questionable places. Party before principles is the watchword in many instances. But the battle is growing rapidly and the notes of the bugle calling the good, law abiding people to the front are sounding. Prohibition in South Carolina is in the near future.

KENTUCKY.

In this state "special legislation" prevails. There is a general "local option law," passed in 1874, under which a certain number of voters may present a petition to the judge of the county court, who thereupon issues an order for an election in the "county, city, town or district" described in the petition, to determine whether "spirituous, vinous or malt liquors" may be sold at retail in the locality indicated. It does not apply to manufacturers, wholesale dealers or druggists, simply to "saloonkeepers," or as known in Kentucky "coffee-house keepers." This vote may be taken every two years and not oftener. It is not used generally. The difficulties in the way of "local option" when applied to a small extent of territory are too many and too great to justify its use except in extremity. If a man has nothing better than a hot iron with which to bore a hole through a board it is wise to use the iron. But an auger is better. When the question of the dram-shop is liable to be fought out every two years in a popular election, it is not surprising that earnest men hesitate to enter the fight. Especially is this true in the south where the colored vote, which is notoriously unreliable on this question, is so large a factor. It serves a good purpose in affording opportunity for agitation, and in some instances an actual victory over the saloon is accomplished in the use of its provisions.

For several years, and especially in 1873, and subsequently, the Kentucky legislature has been familiar with bills whose title reads as follows, viz.: "An act to prohibit the sale of ardent, vinous, malt, spirituous or intoxicating liquors, or the mixture thereof, in the County of Breathitt," Jan. 31, 1873. Twenty-nine bills of similar import became laws in 1873, besides other laws authorizing a vote in certain localities. Some of these laws embraced a county, others a town or a precinct, or "near Harmony Church, in Garrard county." In the years 1878, 1882 and 1884, especially the latter, the number of these bills was increased, amounting to 86 in 1884. Among these are a few acts to repeal, indicating the presence of opposition forces. This fact and the kindred fact that a locality which is "no license" this year may be "license" the next if the tenure by which they hold prohibition is the general local option law of 1874, makes it very difficult to give reliable statistics of the prohibition territory of the state. This is true almost everywhere in the south, and must be as long as the local option method prevails. For it is an ever beginning, never ending battle until it is established in the public mind that it is a crime to assist in maintaining the system of alcoholism, and liquor selling and stealing stand in the same relation before the law. No one would think of putting to a popular vote the question of licensing a person to steal.

The present condition of the state as set forth by a committee of gentlemen in Louisville in November, 1884, is as follows, viz.:

The following counties have adopted local option: Bullitt, Breckenridge, Hardin, Clay, Letcher, Bell, Cumberland, Ballard, Laurel, Martin, Pike, Wayne, Lewis, Perry, Owen, Hopkins, Breathitt, Washington, Rock Castle, Jackson, Owsly, Knox, Whitley, Robertson, Magoffin, Harlan, Leslie, Bracken, Union. Outside of these counties 150 odd magisterial districts in other counties and 50 odd towns in other counties, have adopted local option, thus bringing under local option influences nearly three-fourths of the voting population of the State. Four districts in this county adopted it at the last August election.

As an evidence of the practical working and effect of local option on the material prosperity and morals of the counties in which it has been adopted, we make this extract from a letter from the Elizabethtown *News*, August 1, 1884, in which the writer compares Hardin and Bullitt counties:

"About eleven years ago that county voted the local option law, and here is how she stands in comparison to Hardin county, according to the Auditor's report for the year 1883: Total property listed for taxation, \$1,797,158; amount of revenue paid into the treasury, \$8,750.27; amount drawn out of the treasury, \$6,718.83; leaving in the treasury, \$2,034.44. Total property for Hardin county listed for taxation, \$3,238,271 amount paid into the treasury, \$15,642; amount drawn out of the treasury, \$20,911.76, making a deficit of \$5,269.76. Bullitt county, without her whisky, pays into the treasury \$2,034.44 more than she draws out, while Hardin county, with her whisky, annually draws out \$5,269.76 more than she pays in. Since the local option law took effect in Bullitt county, its wealth has increased and expenses diminished. In the year 1883 the prosecutions in Bullitt county cost the State \$417.83, while the prosecutions in Hardin county for the same year cost the State \$3,748.83, nearly nine-times that of Bullitt county. The population of Hardin county is about double that of Bullitt county. Then, on that basis, the prosecutions in this county should

have cost double that of Bullitt, which is \$835.76. Now take that from the actual cost, \$3,748.83, and we have \$2,913.07, which whisky annually adds to the cost of our criminal court. The State receives \$1,075 for license in Hardin county, and pays out \$2,613.09 to collect it according to the above statistics. In the last ten years Hardin county with her whisky has had thirteen cases of homicide before her courts, while Bullitt county without her whisky has had but one, and that was sent there from Hardin on a change of venue."

In justice to Hardin county, we must say, she adopted local option by a large majority at the last August election.

MICHIGAN.

John Russell.

In Michigan, a clause prohibitory of license was made a part of the state constitution in 1850, prepared by a convention largely democratic. It read as follows: "The legislature shall not pass any act authorizing the grant of license for the sale of spirituous or other intoxicating liquors." This, it will be seen, was one year earlier than the enactment of the celebrated "Maine Law," and under this constitutional provision Michigan had no legalized liquor traffic for twenty-five years. The first prohibitory statute, however, was not enacted until the month of Feb., 1853. Robert McClelland, democrat, was Governor. The legislature was also democratic. This law was declared unconstitutional in 1854; and was, in substance, re-enacted by the first republican legislature, in 1855. It was several times amended, usually to its disadvantage, and finally repealed by a republican legislature, in 1875. In 1875, the present tax law was enacted, and the above cited constitutional provision was submitted to be stricken out; both were strictly republican measures. In 1881, and again in 1883, the temperance people petitioned largely to have a prohibitory amendment of the constitution submitted to a popular vote, but were both times refused, the legislature being each time strongly republican.

Under the present law the dram shop tax where all kinds of intoxicating liquors are sold is \$300. The sale of liquors to minors and on Sundays and election days is forbidden. The saloons may also be closed after a designated hour at night, and on legal holidays, but these provisions of the law are not very thoroughly enforced.

In 1883, by a gross blunder which passed without observation until too late, an act was passed which extends the privilege of local option to villages of a certain class, embracing about one half the villages of the state. The law grants power to the authorities to regulate, restrict or *prohibit* the sale of liquors. The word "prohibit" was not noticed by the opponents of prohibition in the legislature until too late to reconsider the measure, as its friends had hastened to Governor Begole and secured his approval as soon as it was passed. Comparatively few of the villages have availed themselves of the protection the measure affords.

A bill to submit the question of a constitutional amendment to a vote of the people was again introduced in the legislature in 1885, but again failed to receive the requisite two-thirds and was defeated.

OREGON.

Will C. King.

The legislation in Oregon has been hardly commensurate with the enterprise of the temperance people. In few states has more or better work been done in proportion to the population, or the prohibitory sentiment been more active and clear cut.

Yet the legislature has steadily refused the demand of the people for the submission of a constitutional amendment, and what legislation there has been is in the direction of license. A license law was passed in 1851, of the same general character as the contemporaneous license laws of other states. An act was passed this last winter, receiving the approval of the governor Feb. 17, making the license fee \$300 for spirituous and \$200 for malt liquors, providing that no license shall issue for less than six months. Bond in \$1,000 is required; sale to minors, drunkards and on Sundays is forbidden. A petition is required signed by majority of all voters in precinct and greater than any remonstrance from same precinct. Said petition must be published four weeks. Penalty for violation is a fine not less than \$50 nor more than \$200, and it is made the duty of every grand jury to make strict inquiry and return bills of indictment against all violators of the law.

* * * * *

Thus far we have published facts concerning the laws as they have been furnished by those to whom we wrote in the different states, or from an investigation of the statutes themselves, or from both. Many, however, failed to respond to our inquiries, and this circumstance, in connection with another, viz, that we are nearing the limit of our space, forbids that we do more than refer briefly to the present laws of such states as have not been named. In doing this we shall be under obligations, largely, to the *Votee*, and to Doctor Dorchester's "Liquor Problem in All Ages."

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

New Hampshire has a prohibitory law, passed by a legislature principally American and republican in 1855, Ralph Metcalf, American, Governor. Efforts have several times been made for its repeal, and a republican legislature, some two or three years ago, came within one vote of accomplishing its destruction. The law is reported not generally well enforced, but satisfactory in its workings when officials do their duties.

VERMONT.

The prohibitory law passed by a whig legislature in 1852 is still the law of the state. Towns appoint agents to sell liquors for medicinal and mechanical purposes. A number of laws to aid in enforcement have been passed, and prohibition is the settled policy of the state. An effort was made to submit a constitutional amendment in 1884, but owing to defects upon the cider question it was not favored by the Prohibitionists and failed to pass. The present law is fairly executed and liquor is only sold clandestinely.

RHODE ISLAND.

A prohibitory law was passed by a democratic legislature in 1852, declared unconstitutional in 1853, re-enacted in 1855 and ratified by the people. It has since been repealed and the state is now under license law. It is optional with the authorities to grant or

withhold license, as they see fit, and thus far the law possesses a local option feature. The license fee is from \$150 to \$300. In most places where license is refused it is difficult to obtain liquor. In others the law is entirely ignored.

CONNECTICUT.

"An interesting incident," says Doctor Dorchester, "shows the state of public sentiment in this colony at a very early date. A vessel, touching at Norwalk, prepared to land a barrel of rum. The civil authorities and principal inhabitants gathered and forbade its landing. They said to the captain of the vessel, 'You shall never land it on our shores. What! a whole barrel of rum! It will corrupt our morals and be our undoing.'" In 1650 a heavy duty was laid on all imported liquors and an excise tax on home manufacture. Drunkenness was fined five shillings for first and ten for second offense. Sellers were fined if they allowed men to get drunk in their houses.

According to Rev. Geo. A. Calhoun D. D., as early as 1800 there was extreme poverty, caused by drink. He says, in North Coventry, an average town for that period (1800 to 1820), "Only four floors had carpets on them, but four houses painted white, and not more than ten four-wheeled vehicles in the town. Even whitewash on the wall was rare. Real poverty was the cause. The gains of the people were consumed in intoxicating drink. *At least one man in every score became a drunkard*, and not a few women were given to the habits of intemperance."

From A. R. Heath, Esq. of Danbury, we have a full and complete history of legislation in Connecticut, too good to condense into such space as is available. It will be arranged for future use. A prohibitory law was passed in 1854, the legislature at the time being democratic and anti-Neb. The present law is a mixture of local option and license and is only enforced on the surface, even in no-license towns. It is considered an obstacle in the way of prohibition, deluding many honest men with "the mirage" of non-partisan local option work.

NEW JERSEY.

This state has also a license local option law. The license fee is from \$10 to \$100 per annum. The local option feature is by petition and special enactment. The law is reported not a success where no license is voted, owing to difficulty in its enforcement.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. Peter Findley, of Bradford, writes to the Voice as follows: "The General Liquor Law of 1875 under which the traffic is now carried on in Pennsylvania, seems to have been intended chiefly to govern the courts in their treatment of violators of the law; but, as a rule, the courts seem to be afraid to administer liquor laws as they do others, although there are a few noble exceptions. It is difficult to say in a word how the law, such as it is, is enforced. Here in McKean County no violations are furnished by the sworn officers, except when driven to it by the Law and Order Society and similar agencies. During the last four years, the good citizens have spent much time and money in trying to have the law enforced, but have received for their trouble only odium and abuse. These things are not much minded by most of us, and we have set our faces against the great curse of our race, its friends and abettors. The simple truth about the liquor traffic is that it is a lawless traffic, and it cannot be regulated like a legitimate business."

The law is a license law. From Hon. James Black we learn that 272 laws have been passed at different times. The license fee

is very light, only \$58 per annum in Philadelphia, and in many places much less, and not always collected. Several counties and towns have prohibition by special enactment.

LOUISIANA.

The entire control of the traffic is left to municipal management, and corporations may issue license or not, as they see fit, and fix the fee to suit themselves. Under this law a large part of the state prohibits the sale. The law was passed in 1884 by a democratic legislature.

ARKANSAS.

The question of license or no license must be voted upon every two years. The license fee is about \$700. More than one fourth the state refuses to grant license, and the sale of liquor is prohibited within three miles of churches and school houses. The law was passed by a democratic legislature in 1881.

MISSISSIPPI.

A general license law is in force in Mississippi, which requires a petition signed by a majority of men over twenty-one years of age. Prior to 1876 the consent of a majority of the women over eighteen was also required. The fee cannot be less than \$200 nor more than \$1000. More than one half of the state is under prohibition through special enactment. The legislature of 1884 passed over one hundred local prohibitory laws. The laws are well enforced. The state is and always has been democratic.

DELAWARE.

A prohibitory law was passed by a whig legislature in 1847, which was declared unconstitutional in 1848. In 1853 the whigs passed a local option law, and in 1855 an American party legislature re-enacted prohibition. Both these laws were repealed by the Americans in 1857, and a very loose license law was passed by the same party, which is still in force. Licenses cost but \$100 a year, and little attention is paid to the law.

GEORGIA.

Local option, high license, and prohibition by special legislation. Over 100 counties out of 137 are under prohibition. The laws are generally enforced. Licenses where granted are very high, and many towns prohibit the sale by this method. In Gordonsville, for example, the fee for license is \$100,000. The state will soon be free from the liquor traffic. All temperance legislation has come through the democratic party.

ALABAMA.

This state has a law providing for the granting of local option upon petition to the legislature, and also a large number of special prohibitory laws covering localities, counties and territory within specified distances of churches, schools, etc. The laws are generally well enforced. The sentiment of the state in favor of prohibition is growing, and Alabama may be safely counted among the promising states. A general prohibition bill passed one house in 1883. Legislation has been by democratic assemblies.

CALIFORNIA.

Col. George Babcock writes to the *Voice* as follows:

"There are no local option or prohibitory laws in California. The constitution of the state gives the supervision of the saloons to the Boards of Supervisors of the counties. In a few of these the

supervisors have attempted to exercise their police powers by imposing high licenses, but in every case have been defeated. 'The League of Freedom,' so-called, an organization of distillers, brewers, wholesale dealers and saloon-keepers, covering the entire state, controls both political parties, and elect the judges and prosecuting attorneys, so that while high license ordinances are admitted to be constitutional, practically their enforcement is impossible.

In 1882 the democratic state convention adopted a sounding resolution against "sumptuary laws." As there were no sumptuary laws on the statute books of the state, the resolution was understood by everyone to mean the repeal of the laws preventing the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday. The resolution was satisfactory to the league. The republican convention met several weeks afterward, and the temperance people made strenuous efforts to obtain from it a clear and emphatic declaration in favor of the Sunday statutes with proper provisions for their vigorous enforcement. The convention was also asked to declare in favor of local option. In answer, the temperance people obtained the aggressive (?) declaration, that the republican party of California was in favor of maintaining Sunday as a day of "rest and recreation"—which to the German republicans meant beer-gardens, dance-halls, etc., etc. As neither party promised anything for sobriety and decency on any day of the week, a convention of temperance people in favor of separate political action was called to meet later on in San Francisco. The convention which assembled in answer to this call was in every respect a grand one. A clear, strong prohibitory platform was adopted, and Dr. R. H. McDonald was nominated for Governor. The democrats carried the State, and elected a legislature overwhelmingly democratic. Their first act was to repeal the Sunday laws. The dram-shops, dance-halls, beer-dives, dago-dens, and all other places of vile and criminal resort are now kept open on Sunday, as they had previously been, except in some few places. The fact is, that the whisky and beer business in California is sheltering itself behind the grape culture, and as long as the idea prevails there that the use of pure wines is conducive to health and promotive of temperance, no effective legislation can be had against the saloons.

Several years ago a local option law was passed, but as neither the democrats nor republicans claim the honor of it, it is not worth while to go back to the record of it. It was declared unconstitutional, but no lawyer believes it was so.

The present legislature is largely republican. The state Prohibition committee, and the executive officers of the Good Templars, have sent out two petitions to be signed by the people, one of these covering the idea of local option, and the other providing for the submission of a constitutional amendment. These petitions will test the pretended friendship of the republican party to the cause of temperance, and the right of the people to vote whisky out of the community or state.

Finally, there has never been any really sensible and effective legislation upon the temperance question in California. The Good Templars have had a corps of able and earnest lecturers in the field for several years, and they have been doing good work for Prohibition. The outlook for the state is encouraging, and it is confidently said that California will not be the last state to write PROHIBITION upon her shield."

NEBRASKA.

The law of Nebraska differs from those in other states in this,

that while in many of them license is the law with Prohibition as the option, in Nebraska Prohibition is the law with high license as the option. In other words, except in cities of more than 10,000 inhabitants, Prohibition is the normal condition under the law, unless the high license option is taken advantage of. The law was adopted by a democratic legislature in 1881. The license fee can not be less than \$500 nor more than \$1,000. *Treating* is a misdemeanor. When a drunkard becomes a charge upon the town his keeping may be collected from the liquor sellers. For a detailed statement of the law and its workings, see Handbook of 1884, pages 56 to 65

INDIANA.

A prohibitory law was passed by a democratic legislature in 1855, but the supreme court was equally divided upon its constitutionality, and after a few months of Prohibition the law became a dead letter. License laws, with various modifications have been passed since, the present one by a democratic legislature in 1885. It requires a bond of \$2,000 and the fee is from \$50 to \$150. Sales on Sunday and to minors are forbidden, but these provisions are not generally well enforced.

MINNESOTA.

A prohibitory law was passed by a democratic legislature in 1852, so far as spirituous liquors were concerned. Malt liquors were not included. Though never formally repealed, the law has been modified, amended and tinkered with until it is now a license, local option law. The fee is from \$50 to \$100. The license provision is reported tolerably well enforced.

MISSOURI.

The democratic legislature of 1883 enacted one of the most stringent high license and local option laws possible. The written consent of the tax payers of the district must be obtained before license is granted, and the fee is from \$275 to \$600. Though the law is enforced with much vigor in various places, it is not satisfactory as a temperance measure, and active efforts are in progress to secure a constitutional amendment.

HOW TO AMEND STATE CONSTITUTIONS.

Hon. S. D. Hastings, of Wisconsin, has carefully prepared the following account of the various methods of amending State Constitutions:

"To amend the Constitutions of Alabama, California, Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Texas, and West Virginia the proposed amendment must be submitted by a three-fourths vote of one legislature, and then go to the people for ratification. To amend the constitutions of Arkansas, Minnesota, and Missouri the proposed amendment must be submitted by a majority vote of one legislature. To amend the constitutions of Indiana, Iowa, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Oregon, Rhode Island, Virginia, and Wisconsin the proposed amendment must be submitted by a majority vote of two successive legislatures, and then adopted by a majority vote of the people, except in Rhode Island, where a three-fifths vote is required to adopt. In Georgia, Florida, Nevada, and South Carolina the proposed amendment must pass two successive legislatures by a three-fourths vote before it goes to the people. In

South Carolina, however, the second vote in the legislature must be after the amendment has been passed upon by the voters. In Maryland, Nebraska, North Carolina, and Ohio a three-fifths vote of one legislature can submit an amendment, and it can then be adopted by a majority vote of the people. In Connecticut an amendment must be proposed by the house of representatives, approved by a three-fourths vote of the succeeding legislature, and then sent to the towns to be ratified. In Delaware an amendment must be proposed by a three-fourths vote of the legislature, and, after having been extensively published, ratified by a three-fourths vote of the succeeding legislature, when it becomes a part of the constitution without a vote of the people. In Tennessee it requires a majority vote of one legislature and a three-fourths vote of the succeeding one to submit an amendment, when a majority of the people adopts. In Vermont an amendment can be submitted by the Council of Censors, and then adopted by a convention called for the purpose. In New Hampshire an amendment must be submitted by a convention, and adopted by a three-fourths vote of the people. In Kentucky the constitution can only be amended by a convention called for the purpose."

MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND CONFERENCE OF PROMINENT PROHIBITIONISTS.

On Jan. 7, 1885, a meeting of the National Committee and Conference of prominent Prohibitionists was held in New York City. The following members of the committee were present:

California, Col. Geo. Babcock; Connecticut, Geo. P. Rogers, and A. A. Moorehouse; Illinois, Dr. A. J. Jutkins, and J. A. Van-Fleet; Maine, N. F. Woodbury, and W. T. Eustis; Maryland, E. B. Newman; Massachusetts, Geo. F. Clark, and Mrs. E. M. H. Richards; Nebraska, John B. Finch; New Jersey, T. Edgar Hunt, and S. Parsons; New York, J. W. Bruce; Ohio, Jay Odell, Mother Stewart, and Mrs. Mattie McClellan Brown; Pennsylvania, James Black, and W. T. Dunn; Rhode Island, Henry S. Woodworth, and J. N. Todd; Wisconsin, S. D. Hastings; District of Columbia, A. A. Wheelock.

Among prominent Prohibitionists, not members of the committee, who were present were I. N. Pierce, of Philadelphia; Stephen Merritt, of New York; W. H. Boole, of Brooklyn; Prof. A. A. Hopkins, of Rochester; Horace Waters, of New York, and many other equally prominent workers.

Committees were appointed on address and resolutions, agitation, literature and finance. The committee on agitation submitted a series of resolutions congratulatory upon the marked progress of the party, inviting the co-operation of temperance people everywhere in the good work; urging the members of the Prohibition party to co-operate as far as they consistently can in all efforts for Prohibition; acknowledging their gratitude and obligation to St. John and Daniel for their loyalty and effective labors; expressing the utmost confidence in Mr. St. John in the face of the malicious

attacks upon him by republican partisans, and closing with the following:

Resolved, That we instruct the executive committee to secure the services of Hon. John P. St. John and other able speakers, for the current year, to herald the cause and proclaim the principles of Prohibition throughout the land.

The Committee on Literature reported the value, as shown by experience, of tracts, leaflets and journals as educators and mediums of communication and the inability to cope with a hostile political press without them; the necessity of special literature in order to gain access to the public mind; the necessity of effective organizations through which our journals can be distributed, and that the friends of Prohibition engage diligently in such work.

It should be the aim of our local committee to see that every clergyman is furnished with a Prohibition paper and suitable Prohibition literature; that every day-school is furnished with suitable charts and lesson books, in most of the states the law requiring such studies serving as an incentive.

In conclusion, we would point to the significant fact that the total Prohibition vote was about equal to the combined circulation of the Prohibition journals, and suggest to our friends that this indicates the best method by which the vote can be increased. It is a well-known fact that in battle it takes the weight of a man in lead to kill him, and may it not be equally true that it takes the weight of a man in paper to secure a voter?

The committee on address and resolutions reported the following resolutions, and the work of preparing an address was referred to Dr. A. J. Jutkins and the Executive Committee. The address has been prepared and published, and can be obtained by application to A. J. Jutkins, 87 Washington street, Chicago.

The National Committee of the Prohibition party, in session in New York city, January 8, 1885, make the following declarations of purpose and policy.

First. The National Prohibition party is an independent political organization of citizens of the several States of the Federal Union, endowed with and exercising the prerogatives, rights and duties of a political party, free of all sectional prejudices and preferences, and its members acknowledge no dictation in the use and disposal of their ballots.

Second. The grand controuling object of this party is the utter suppression of the unjustly legalized liquor traffic, by State and National prohibition, and it will not relax its efforts until this result has been fully and satisfactorily attained.

Third. It will make no compromise of its principles by coalition with any other political party.

Fourth. Constitutional prohibition of the liquor traffic is the right of a majority of the people; and the attempt of any Legislature to prevent the submission of this question to the decision of a popular vote when petitioned for by a large and respectable body of citizens, is an abuse of legislative power, and a violation of official duty.

Fifth: The honest enforcement of law is the object of just government. The National Prohibition party has no confidence that either the democratic or republican party will so legislate for, or administer government in behalf of citizens, as to secure them in their just rights, by the legal destruction of the national liquor crime, and the purpose of this party is to exchange present policy in administration that favors and protects crime, to the right and just policy of protection to citizens against crime.

Sixth: The prohibition of the liquor traffic is a national issue to be consummated by amendment to the federal constitution; and the Prohibition party is a necessity to secure such amendment, and to maintain an administration in power favorable to its enforcement.

Dr. Funk, of New York, offered the following resolution which was unanimously carried:

Resolved, That the National Temperance Society and Publication House is one of the most important factors in our work, and we heartily commend to the attention of Prohibitionists its many publications covering every branch of the temperance cause. Its leaflets, tracts and other publications should be scattered everywhere.

Prof. A. A. Hopkins, of New York, offered the following, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we hereby declare our high appreciation of the executive ability shown by our chairman, Hon. John B. Finch, and of his brave and masterly leadership during the past campaign, and that we tender him our heartfelt thanks therefor, and recognize with gratitude the widespread inspiration given to our cause by his platform utterances and his published words of cheer.

Col. Babcock, of California, offered the following, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That for the protection of the public we request the railroads and all carrying companies of the nation to require total abstinence as a requisite qualification in all their employees.

Mr. A. A. Hopkins was added to the national committee as a member at large, and also to the executive committee. At a meeting of the latter body Messrs. A. A. Hopkins, A. J. Jutkins and Mrs. M. McClellan Brown were constituted a committee to supervise Mr. St. John's work in the south. The following is the report of the

FINANCE COMMITTEE:

Resolved, That the project of raising a fund for the work of advancing the cause of Prohibition, organized and put into effect by the national executive committee of 1880-4, and approved by the last national convention, and known as the 'Pioneer Battle Fund' be urged upon the attention of all prohibitory organizations and Prohibitionists throughout the country.

Resolved, That all subscriptions to the above named fund heretofore made or hereafter made be limited to the period of five years.

Whereas, Horace Waters, Esq., of New York, has organized a movement to raise a fund of ten thousand dollars for the purpose of securing the services of ex-Gov. St. John to lecture in behalf of the cause and in other ways to promote its success and

Whereas, Rev. W. H. Boole, of Brooklyn, has organized a

movement to secure a national fund of ten thousand dollars on a basis of a subscription of one dollar, therefore

Resolved, That the national committee approve of these two movements and trust that the movers will continue to push them to complete success, and

Whereas, Both Mr. Waters and Mr. Boole have expressed a desire that the funds when raised should be placed in the charge of the treasurer of the executive committee of the National Prohibition party, and appropriated by said committee, therefore

Resolved, That the executive committee of the Prohibition party be requested to take the charge of these funds and attend to their appropriation in accordance with the wishes of the contributors.

Resolved, That the executive committee be requested to prepare a circular to the persons who have subscribed to the two national funds, proposing a plan for the use of these funds, and asking their consent to make immediate payment of their subscriptions to the treasurer of the national committee, Samuel D. Hastings, Madison, Wisconsin.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

In obedience to the report of the committee on agitation, arrangements were made with Mr. St. John for work in the South, and at this writing (March 19) he is engaged in fulfilling that mission and is received with phenomenal welcome and enthusiasm. He is accompanied by Mr. Hopkins, under whose immediate supervision his meetings are planned. Immense gatherings are held, the numbers being limited only by the capacity of the accommodations.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The National committee is composed as follows: Members at large—Frances E. Willard, Evanston, Illinois; Mother Stewart, Springfield, Ohio; A. A. Hopkins, Rochester, New York. Members by states—Alabama, Z. A. Parker, Birmingham, J. R. Hoffman, Athens; Arkansas, J. L. Palmer, Little Rock, W. P. Grace, Pine Bluff; California, Col. George Babcock and Mrs. Emily Pitt Stevens, San Francisco; Colorado, Col. John A. Ellett, Boulder; Connecticut, George P. Rogers, New London, A. A. Morehouse, Danbury; Illinois, A. J. Jutkins and J. A. Van Fleet, 87 Washington street, Chicago; Kansas, J. H. Byers, Lawrence, Dr. Delos Walker, Greely; Maine, N. F. Woodbury, Auburn, W. T. Eustis, Dixfield; Maryland, John L. Thomas, Cumberland, E. B. Newman, Baltimore; Massachusetts, George F. Clark, Hubbardstown, Mrs. E. M. H. Richards, 35 Monument avenue, Charlestown, Boston; Michigan, John Russell, Milton, D. P. Sagendorph, Charlotte; Minnesota, L. Bixby and W. W. Satterlee, Minneapolis; Missouri, M. W. Watson, 410½ Market street, St. Louis, A. F. Butts, North Springfield; Nebraska, John B. Finch, Lincoln, S. F. Templin, Lincoln; New Hampshire, C. A. Hovey, Manchester, Josiah M. Fletcher, Nashua; New Jersey, T. Edgar Hunt, Glen Gardner,

S. Parsons, Belvidere; New York, T. J. Bissell, Brockport, J. W. Bruce, Lenox; Ohio, Jay Odell, Cleveland, Mrs. M. McC. Brown, Cincinnati; Pennsylvania, James Black, Lancaster, Wm. T. Dunn, Box 99, Pittsburgh; Rhode Island, Henry S. Woodworth and J. N. Todd, Providence; South Carolina, Sallie F. Chapin, Charleston; Tennessee, J. W. Smith, McKenzie, J. R. Anderson, —; Texas, E. L. Dohoney, Paris, W. H. Hamlin, —; Virginia, Rumsey Smithson, Staunton, Col. Thomas E. Tayler, Lincoln; West Virginia, Frank Burt, Mannington; Wisconsin, S. D. Hastings, Madison, B. E. Van Kuren, Oshkosh.

The following constitute the National Executive Committee:

John B. Finch, Chairman; D. P. Sagendorph, Vice Chairman; A. J. Jutkins, Corresponding Secretary and General Financial Agent; J. A. Van Fleet, Recording Secretary; S. D. Hastings, Treasurer; A. A. Hopkins; Frances E. Willard; M. McClellan Brown.

HON. WM. DANIEL'S WORK.

We have thus far omitted to speak of the arduous and effective work of the candidate for the Vice Presidency, reserving it for special mention here. The general plans for Mr. Daniel were made at Lake Bluff, September 6th, the same time with those for Mr. St. John, though the details were left somewhat more to his discretion, to be governed by events as they might transpire. Mr. Daniel spent several days in the West, speaking in Wisconsin and Illinois. He then visited the South, holding meetings at various places in Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, West Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, Virginia, District of Columbia and Maryland. During all this time he did much to give special direction by his wise counsels to the work in the latter, his own state. He also spoke in New Jersey, and with Mr. St. John in Philadelphia and Baltimore, and held one meeting at New Albany, Indiana. Besides the work already indicated, he spent some eight or nine days in New England, speaking every night but one while there. Mr. Daniel's work in North Carolina furnishes a good example of the necessity for and result of work in the South. On arriving at Raleigh he found the sentiment rather averse to an electoral ticket in the state, but his going there led to a conference, or convention, at which a ticket was placed in the field, and though this was only a few days before election, and no canvas was made, it received quite a respectable support. It will thus be seen that it is not difficult to persuade the people of the south into active and effective methods, when they are fairly presented. Mr. Daniel gave his time and labor freely, looking to the National Executive Committee for his actual expenses only.

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE, 1884.

Alabama.		Colorado.		Christian		188
No report by counties. Total vote,	610	Arapahoe	163	Clark	81	
Arkansas.		Boulder.....	113	Clay	26	
No ticket in the field.		Chaffee.....	7	Clinton	59	
California.		Clear Creek.....	14	Coles.....	63	
Alameda	104	Conejos.....	2	Cook.....	906	
Amador.....	82	Custer.....	4	Crawford	18	
Butte.....	134	Douglas.....	6	Cumberland	39	
Calaveras.....	11	Elbert.....	1	DeKalb.....	120	
Colusa.....	57	El Paso.....	94	De Witt.....	56	
Contra Costa.....	63	Fremont.....	26	Douglas.....	73	
Del Norte.....	3	Gilpin.....	68	Du Page.....	105	
El Dorado.....	46	Grand.....	1	Edgar.....	92	
Fresno.....	76	Gunnison.....	3	Edwards.....	32	
Humboldt.....	84	Hinsdale.....	4	Effingham.....	44	
Inyo.....	9	Huerfano.....	8	Fayette.....	42	
Kern.....	6	Jefferson.....	65	Ford.....	87	
Lake.....	2	Lake.....	5	Franklin.....	50	
Lassen.....	20	Larimer.....	55	Fulton.....	189	
Los Angeles.....	343	Mesa.....	3	Gallatin.....	19	
Marin.....	7	Pueblo.....	6	Greene.....	67	
Mariposa.....	17	Rio Grande.....	17	Grundy.....	96	
Mendocino.....	79	Saguache.....	4	Hamilton.....	48	
Merced.....	16	San Juan.....	1	Hancock.....	94	
Modoc.....	33	Weld.....	91	Hardin.....	—	
Mono.....	12	Total.....	761	Henderson.....	25	
Monterey.....	40	Connecticut.		Henry.....	259	
Napa.....	19	Fairfield.....	427	Iroquois.....	194	
Nevada.....	50	Hartford.....	422	Jackson.....	65	
Placer.....	70	Litchfield.....	314	Jasper.....	24	
Plumas.....	8	Middlesex.....	228	Jefferson.....	88	
Sacramento.....	92	New Haven.....	448	Jersey.....	80	
San Benito.....	38	New London.....	365	Jo Davies.....	159	
San Bernardino.....	47	Tolland.....	136	Johnson.....	129	
San Diego.....	37	Windham.....	155	Kane.....	206	
San Francisco.....	98	Total.....	2,495	Kankakee.....	166	
San Joaquin.....	141	Delaware.		Kendall.....	120	
San Luis Obispo.....	73	New Castle.....	55	Knox.....	195	
San Mateo.....	12	Florida.		Lake.....	109	
Santa Barbara.....	118	Georgia.		La Salle.....	350	
Santa Clara.....	162	Illinois.		Lawrence.....	40	
Santa Cruz.....	45	Adams.....	151	Lee.....	100	
Shasta.....	45	Alexander.....	7	Livingston.....	135	
Sierra.....	16	Bond.....	146	Logan.....	262	
Siskiyou.....	1	Boone.....	122	Macon.....	395	
Solano.....	69	Brown.....	44	Macoupin.....	148	
Sonoma.....	113	Bureau.....	174	Madison.....	181	
Stanislaus.....	69	Calhoun.....	3	Marion.....	183	
Sutter.....	77	Carroll.....	59	Marshall.....	51	
Tehama.....	27	Cass.....	74	Mason.....	68	
Trinity.....	6	Champaign.....	166	Massac.....	37	
Tulare.....	115	Indiana.		McDonough.....	121	
Tuolumne.....	45	Adams.....	151	McHenry.....	146	
Ventura.....	20	Alexander.....	7	McLean.....	449	
Yolo.....	62	Bond.....	146	Menard.....	65	
Yuba.....	40	Boone.....	122	Mercer.....	90	
Total.....	2,959	Brown.....	44	Monroe.....	3	
		Bureau.....	174	Montgomery.....	170	
		Calhoun.....	3	Morgan.....	178	
		Carroll.....	59	Moultrie.....	42	
		Cass.....	74	Ogle.....	138	
		Champaign.....	166	Peoria.....	100	

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE, 1884.

Perry	130	Lagrange	37	Fayette	46
Platt	48	Lake	24	Floyd	13
Pike	76	La Porte	19	Freemont	16
Pope	9	Lawrence	6	Greene	30
Pulaski	16	Madison	31	Guthrie	19
Putnam	72	Marion	168	Hancock	2
Randolph	128	Marshall	41	Hardin	8
Richland	78	Martin	3	Harrison	32
Rock Island	83	Miami	28	Henry	20
Saline	26	Monroe	29	Howard	3
Sangamon	195	Montgomery	63	Humboldt	6
Schuyler	24	Morgan	13	Ida	8
Scott	30	Newton	11	Iowa	16
Shelby	80	Noble	47	Jackson	14
Stark	99	Ohio	2	Jasper	58
St. Clair	99	Orange	6	Jefferson	37
Stephenson	185	Owen	3	Johnson	13
Tazewell	79	Parke	64	Jones	16
Union	31	Perry	1	Kossuth	6
Vermillion	213	Pike	8	Lee	6
Wabash	13	Porter	54	Linn	77
Warren	165	Posey	14	Louisa	21
Washington	284	Pulaski	1	Lucas	6
Wayne	12	Putnam	8	Lyon	7
White	63	Randolph	77	Madison	10
Whiteside	214	Ripley	10	Mahaska	8
Will.	117	Rush	44	Marion	35
Williamson	28	St. Joseph	157	Marshall	35
Winnebago	564	Scott	3	Mitchell	15
Woodford	112	Shelby	26	Monona	10
		Starke	5	Monroe	5
Total	11,964	Steuben	53	Muscataine	16
		Sullivan	29	O'Brien	4
		Switzerland	10	Page	137
Indiana.		Tiptecanoe	11	Palo Alto	1
Adams	84	Union	23	Plymouth	12
Allen	85	Vanderburgh	10	Polk	30
Bartholomew	4	Vermillion	3	Poweshiek	31
Benton	22	Vigo	9	Ringold	16
Blackford	17	Warren	34	Sac	2
Boone	56	Wabash	14	Scott	3
Brown	27	Warrick	28	Shelby	47
Carroll	6	Washington	5	Sioux	6
Cass	13	Wayne	144	Story	11
Clark	10	Wells	37	Tama	18
Clay	15	White	12	Taylor	17
Clinton	26	Whitley	56	Union	27
Davies	2			Van Buren	78
Dearborn	24	Total	3,028	Warren	23
Decatur	1			Washington	37
De Kalb	59			Wayne	27
Delaware	38			Winnebago	5
Du Bois	1	Iowa.		Winnesheik	10
Elkhart	93	Adair	5	Woodbury	17
Fayette	15	Adams	4	Worth	5
Floyd	53	Allamakee	2		
Fountain	6	Appanoose	6	Total	1,474
Franklin	9	Boone	13		
Fulton	4	Bremer	7	Kansas.	
Gibson	43	Buchanan	16	Allen	24
Grant	1-8	Buena Vista	9	Anderson	97
Greene	3	Butler	13	Atchison	45
Hamilton	211	Calhoun	13	Barton	16
Hancock	31	Carroll	8	Bourbon	47
Harrison	4	Cass	11	Brown	48
Hendricks	58	Cedar	44	Butler	187
Henry	77	Cerro Gordo	11	Chase	17
Howard	75	Cherokee	24	Chaatauqua	4
Huntington	33	Chickasaw	16	Cherokee	68
Jackson	10	Clarke	4	Clay	122
Jasper	44	Clay	17	Cloud	223
Jay	38	Clayton	13	Coffee	28
Jefferson	8	Decatur	10	Cowley	56
Jennings	12	Des Moines	28	Crawford	28
Johnson	17	Dickinson	2	Davis	27
Knox	14	Dubuque	6	Decatur	
Kosciusko	60	Emmett	1		

HANDBOOK OF PROHIBITION.

Dickinson.....	36
Doniphan.....	1
Douglas.....	236
Edwards.....	16
Elk.....	35
Ellsworth.....	25
Finney.....	2
Ford.....	15
Franklin.....	109
Greenwood.....	16
Harvey.....	84
Jackson.....	64
Jefferson.....	67
Jewell.....	117
Johnson.....	323
Kingman.....	1
La Bette.....	149
Leavenworth.....	89
Lincoln.....	37
Linn.....	31
Lyon.....	110
McPherson.....	69
Marion.....	23
Marshall.....	53
Miami.....	91
Mitchell.....	45
Montgomery.....	46
Morris.....	14
Nemaha.....	86
Neosho.....	74
Ness.....	25
Norton.....	23
Osage.....	118
Osborne.....	35
Ottawa.....	59
Pawnee.....	26
Phillips.....	7
Pottawatomie.....	73
Pratt.....	30
Rawlins.....	1
Reno.....	92
Republic.....	64
Rice.....	107
Riley.....	29
Rooks.....	20
Russell.....	20
Saline.....	33
Sedgwick.....	88
Shawnee.....	154
Smith.....	94
Stafford.....	35
Sumner.....	79
Trego.....	4
Wabausee.....	39
Washington.....	20
Wilson.....	20
Woodson.....	51
Wyandotte.....	47
Total.....	4,495

Kentucky.

Adair.....	11
Allen.....	21
Anderson.....	21
Ballard.....	45
Barren.....	47
Bath.....	8
Bell.....	10
Boone.....	19
Bourbon.....	5
Boyd.....	1
Boyle.....	47
Breckenridge.....	46
Bathitt.....	13

Breckenridge.....	33
Bullitt.....	16
Butler.....	22
Caldwell.....	33
Calloway.....	17
Campbell.....	44
Carroll.....	65
Carter.....	3
Carey.....	46
Christian.....	62
Clark.....	10
Clay.....	7
Clinton.....	6
Crittenden.....	22
Cumberland.....	11
Davless.....	26
Edmonson.....	3
Estill.....	1
Fayette.....	40
Fleming.....	35
Floyd.....	1
Franklin.....	14
Fulton.....	20
Gallatin.....	8
Garrard.....	28
Grant.....	49
Graves.....	48
Grayson.....	17
Green.....	10
Greenup.....	1
Hancock.....	53
Hardin.....	25
Harrison.....	41
Hart.....	63
Henderson.....	78
Henry.....	94
Hickman.....	19
Hopkins.....	40
Jackson.....	21
Jefferson.....	342
Jessamine.....	5
Johnson.....	4
Kenton.....	40
Knott.....	12
Knox.....	12
La Rue.....	11
Laurel.....	21
Lawrence.....	1
Letcher.....	1
Lewis.....	20
Lincoln.....	65
Livingston.....	65
Logan.....	11
Lyon.....	21
McCracken.....	13
McLean.....	18
Madison.....	27
Marion.....	33
Marshall.....	19
Mason.....	20
Meade.....	41
Menifee.....	10
Mercer.....	9
Metcalfe.....	55
Monroe.....	37
Montgomery.....	21
Morgan.....	10
Muhlenburgh.....	4
Nelson.....	35
Nicholas.....	36
Ohio.....	51
Oldham.....	35
Owen.....	40
Owsley.....	52
Pendleton.....	5
Perry.....	50

Pike.....	2
Powell.....	2
Pulaski.....	35
Robertson.....	4
Russell.....	27
Scott.....	67
Shelby.....	37
Simpson.....	29
Spencer.....	6
Taylor.....	8
Todd.....	55
Trigg.....	26
Trimble.....	35
Union.....	33
Warren.....	46
Washington.....	7
Wayne.....	23
Webster.....	21
Whitley.....	24
Wolfe.....	3
Woodford.....	28

Total..... 3,139

Louisiana.

Total vote.....	458
No report by counties.....	

Maine.

Androscoggin.....	151
Aroostook.....	229
Cumberland.....	440
Franklin.....	22
Hancock.....	65
Kennebec.....	174
Knox.....	87
Lincoln.....	102
Oxford.....	127
Penobscot.....	192
Piscataquis.....	79
Sagadahoc.....	87
Somerset.....	115
Waldo.....	49
Washington.....	18
York.....	223

Total..... 2,160

Maryland.

Alleghany.....	165
Anne Arundel.....	80
Baltimore.....	1,500
Calvert.....	8
Caroline.....	43
Carroll.....	51
Cecil.....	68
Charles.....	12
Dorchester.....	52
Frederick.....	157
Garrett.....	22
Harford.....	56
Howard.....	23
Kent.....	46
Montgomery.....	93
Prince George's.....	31
Queen Anne.....	45
St. Mary's.....	23
Somerset.....	48
Talbot.....	39
Washington.....	44
Wicomico.....	65
Worcester.....	176

Total..... 2,827

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE, 1884.

Massachusetts.		Ogemaw	16	Todd.....	57
Barnstable.....	162	Ontonagon	24	Traverse.....	16
Berkshire.....	328	Osceola	273	Wabasha.....	56
Bristol.....	721	Oscoda	4	Wadena.....	25
Dukes.....	63	Otsego	21	Waseca.....	97
Essex.....	1,506	Ottawa.....	231	Washington.....	53
Franklin.....	345	Rosecommon.....	2	Watsonwan.....	8
Hampden.....	565	Saginaw.....	205	Wilkin.....	1
Hampshire.....	346	St. Clair.....	348	Winona.....	119
Middlesex.....	1,818	St. Joseph.....	133	Wright.....	41
Nantucket.....	17	Sanilac.....	165	Yellow Med.....	59
Norfolk.....	625	Schoolcraft.....	22		
Plymouth.....	743	Shiawassee.....	623	Total.....	4,618
Suffolk.....	1,398	Tuscola.....	322		
Worcester.....	1,286	Van Buren.....	361	Mississippi.	
Total.....	9,923	Washtenaw.....	617	Votes cast returned	877
		Wayne.....	703	as "scattering"...	
		Wexford.....	130		
Michigan.		Total.....	18,403	Missouri.	
Arenac.....	44			Adair.....	84
Alcona.....	1	Minnesota.		Andrew.....	41
Allegan.....	927	Anoka.....	79	Atchison.....	38
Alpena.....	59	Becker.....	2	Audrain.....	28
Antrim.....	37	Benton.....	15	Barton.....	1
Barry.....	401	Big Stone.....	32	Bates.....	103
Bay.....	161	Blue Earth.....	275	Benton.....	13
Benzie.....	77	Brown.....	24	Bollinger.....	2
Berrien.....	345	Carver.....	54	Boone.....	12
Branch.....	419	Chippewa.....	47	Caldwell.....	18
Calhoun.....	564	Chisago.....	5	Callaway.....	3
Cass.....	216	Clay.....	74	Cape Girardeau.....	12
Charlevoix.....	56	Cottonwood.....	34	Carroll.....	3
Cheboygan.....	40	Crow Wing.....	1	Caro.....	68
Chippewa.....	21	Dakota.....	102	Cedar.....	8
Clare.....	34	Dodge.....	145	Christian.....	6
Clinton.....	315	Douglas.....	71	Clarke.....	3
Crawford.....	9	Faribault.....	171	Clay.....	62
Delta.....	6	Fillmore.....	155	Clinton.....	78
Eaton.....	494	Freeborn.....	104	Cole.....	5
Emmett.....	105	Goodhue.....	192	Cooper.....	10
Genesee.....	1,005	Grant.....	32	Crawford.....	11
Grand Traverse.....	94	Hennepin.....	871	Dade.....	88
Gratiot.....	283	Houston.....	32	Davies.....	3
Hillsdale.....	629	Isanti.....	7	De Kalb.....	8
Houghton.....	39	Jackson.....	18	Gasconade.....	1
Huron.....	179	Kandayohi.....	14	Gentry.....	60
Ingham.....	472	Le Sueur.....	45	Greene.....	149
Ionia.....	503	Lincoln.....	5	Grundy.....	12
Iosco.....	43	Lyon.....	99	Harrison.....	27
Isabella.....	83	McLeod.....	105	Henry.....	56
Jackson.....	645	Marshall.....	8	Hickory.....	7
Kalamazoo.....	455	Martin.....	109	Holt.....	4
Kalaska.....	35	Meeker.....	118	Howard.....	10
Kent.....	1,040	Mill Lacs.....	4	Howell.....	2
Keweenaw.....	12	Mower.....	38	Iron.....	5
Lake.....	109	Murray.....	18	Jackson.....	68
Lapeer.....	276	Nobles.....	181	Jefferson.....	48
Leelenaw.....	21	Olmsted.....	155	Johnson.....	53
Lenawee.....	1,097	Otter Tail.....	43	Knox.....	32
Livingston.....	272	Pipe Stone.....	12	Laclede.....	25
Mackinac.....	3	Polk.....	36	La Fayette.....	10
Macomb.....	223	Pope.....	56	Lawrence.....	60
Manistee.....	162	Ramsey.....	67	Lincoln.....	3
Marquette.....	48	Redwood.....	42	Livingston.....	31
Mason.....	57	Renville.....	58	Macon.....	9
Mecosta.....	187	Rice.....	144	Madison.....	13
Menominee.....	25	Rock.....	58	Maries.....	8
Midland.....	44	St. Louis.....	2	Marion.....	53
Mesauee.....	26	Scott.....	26	Mercer.....	19
Monroe.....	224	Sherburne.....	16	Mississippi.....	2
Montcalm.....	173	Sibley.....	6	Moniteau.....	25
Montmorency.....	9	Stearns.....	27	Monroe.....	13
Muskegon.....	317	Steele.....	71	Montgomery.....	19
Newaygo.....	203	Stevens.....	11	Morgan.....	2
Oakland.....	522	Swift.....	10	New Madrid.....	4
Oceana.....	357			Newton.....	3

HANDBOOK OF PROHIBITION.

Nodoway.....	63	Phelps.....	14	Duchess.....	498
Osage.....	2	Pierce.....	17	Erie.....	725
Perry.....	1	Platte.....	28	Essex.....	65
Pettis.....	100	Polk.....	83	Franklin.....	70
Phelps.....	9	Red Willow.....	12	Fulton & Hamilton	248
Pike.....	52	Richardson.....	74	Genesee.....	386
Platte.....	15	Saline.....	91	Greene.....	260
Polk.....	6	Sarpy.....	23	Herkimer.....	327
Pulaski.....	8	Saunders.....	173	Jefferson.....	636
Putnam.....	4	Seward.....	67	Kings.....	1,367
Ray.....	1	Sherman.....	14	Lewis.....	114
Reynolds.....	8	Thayer.....	14	Livingston.....	375
St. Clair.....	34	Valley.....	14	Madison.....	529
St. Francois.....	6	Washington.....	49	Monroe.....	1,201
St. Louis.....	95	Wayne.....	7	Montgomery.....	134
Saline.....	48	Webster.....	30	New York.....	1,034
Schuyler.....	13	Wheeler.....	3	Niagara.....	500
Scotland.....	27	York.....	100	Oneida.....	894
Shelby.....	18			Onondaga.....	601
Stoddard.....	9	Total.....	2,899	Ontario.....	233
Stone.....	2			Orange.....	647
Sullivan.....	8	Nevada.		Orleans.....	669
Texas.....	41	No ticket in the field.		Oswego.....	560
Vernon.....	38			Otsego.....	432
Warren.....	10	New Hampshire.		Putnam.....	89
Washington.....	30	Belknap.....	88	Queens.....	201
Webster.....	4	Carroll.....	134	Rensselaer.....	416
Worth.....	3	Cheshire.....	168	Richmond.....	90
Wright.....	13	Coos.....	34	Rockland.....	128
		Grafton.....	138	St. Lawrence.....	311
Total.....	2,159	Hillsborough.....	415	Saratoga.....	425
Nebraska.		Merrimack.....	409	Schenectady.....	106
Adams.....	114	Rockingham.....	223	Schoharie.....	173
Antelope.....	32	Strafford.....	119	Schuyler.....	154
Boone.....	47	Sullivan.....	75	Seneca.....	119
Brown.....	28			Steuben.....	904
Buffalo.....	27	Total.....	1,803	Suffolk.....	497
Burt.....	11	New Jersey.		Sullivan.....	183
Butler.....	193	Atlantic.....	247	Tioga.....	401
Cass.....	30	Bergen.....	73	Tompkins.....	373
Cedar.....	7	Burlington.....	387	Ulster.....	429
Cheyenne.....	1	Camden.....	466	Warren.....	123
Clay.....	104	Cape May.....	121	Washington.....	255
Colfax.....	2	Cumberland.....	549	Wayne.....	433
Cuming.....	12	Essex.....	768	Westchester.....	437
Custer.....	21	Gloucester.....	284	Wyoming.....	483
Dakota.....	5	Hudson.....	231	Yates.....	200
Dawson.....	15	Hunterdon.....	490		
Dixon.....	69	Morris.....	495	Total.....	25,115
Dodge.....	82	Middlesex.....	167	North Carolina.	
Douglas.....	73	Monmouth.....	349	Total vote.....	454
Fillmore.....	58	Mercer.....	279	No report by coun-	
Franklin.....	47	Ocean.....	57	ties.	
Furnas.....	25	Passaic.....	184	Ohio.	
Gage.....	187	Salem.....	238	Adams.....	55
Gosper.....	2	Somerset.....	125	Allen.....	59
Hall.....	12	Sussex.....	116	Ashland.....	111
Hamilton.....	23	Union.....	166	Ashtabula.....	336
Harlan.....	56	Warren.....	415	Athens.....	179
Holt.....	102			Auglaize.....	13
Howard.....	1	Total.....	6,207	Belmont.....	153
Jefferson.....	15	New York.		Brown.....	46
Johnson.....	29	Albany.....	312	Butler.....	100
Kearney.....	15	Allegany.....	1,180	Carroll.....	104
Keith.....	1	Broome.....	458	Champaign.....	114
Knox.....	20	Cattaraugus.....	930	Clark.....	365
Lancaster.....	207	Cayuga.....	591	Clermont.....	77
Lincoln.....	12	Chautauqua.....	540	Clinton.....	165
Madison.....	18	Chemung.....	185	Columbiana.....	169
Merrick.....	100	Chenango.....	506	Coshocton.....	40
Nance.....	12	Clinton.....	35	Crawford.....	111
Nemaha.....	30	Columbia.....	168	Cuyahoga.....	615
Nuckolls.....	18	Cortland.....	375	Darke.....	68
Otoe.....	126	Delaware.....	437	Defiance.....	39
Pawnee.....	97			Delaware.....	348

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE, 1884.

Erie.....	95	Coos	14	Somerset.....	126
Fairfield.....	105	Crook.....	1	Sullivan.....	44
Fayette.....	44	Douglas.....	19	Susquehanna.....	472
Franklin.....	272	Grant.....	1	Tioga.....	235
Fulton.....	215	Jackson.....	45	Union.....	60
Gallia.....	54	Josephine.....	2	Venango.....	438
Geauga.....	162	Lake.....	7	Warren.....	422
Greene.....	217	Lane.....	29	Washington.....	383
Guernsey.....	181	Lime.....	42	Wayne.....	306
Hamilton.....	176	Marion.....	34	Westmoreland.....	307
Hancock.....	84	Multnomah.....	62	Wyoming.....	109
Hardin.....	117	Polk.....	29	York.....	128
Harrison.....	132	Tillamook.....	10		
Henry.....	54	Unatilla.....	28	Total.....	15,737
Highland.....	114	Wasco.....	22		
Hocking.....	28	Washington.....	29	Rhode Island.	
Holmes.....	48	Yam Hill.....	32	Bristol.....	65
Huron.....	277			Kent.....	49
Jackson.....	66	Total.....	490	Newport.....	155
Jefferson.....	135			Providence.....	491
Knox.....	164	Pennsylvania.		Washington.....	168
Lake.....	45	Adams.....	32	Total.....	928
Lawrence.....	44	Allegheny.....	1,087		
Licking.....	91	Armstrong.....	275	South Carolina.	
Logan.....	158	Beaver.....	138	Total vote.....	1,237
Lorain.....	370	Bedford.....	31	No report by coun-	
Lucas.....	179	Berks.....	129	ties.	
Madison.....	73	Blair.....	252	Tennessee.	
Mahoning.....	102	Bradford.....	521	Bedford.....	75
Marion.....	99	Bucks.....	84	Benton.....	4
Medina.....	137	Butler.....	387	Blount.....	31
Meigs.....	93	Cambria.....	177	Campbell.....	6
Mercer.....	19	Cameron.....	4	Cannon.....	7
Miami.....	120	Carbon.....	97	Carroll.....	27
Monroe.....	19	Centre.....	98	Clay.....	16
Montgomery.....	118	Chester.....	506	Cooke.....	18
Morgan.....	108	Clarion.....	139	Coffee.....	26
Morrow.....	190	Clearfield.....	122	Crockett.....	8
Muskingum.....	98	Clinton.....	69	Cumberland.....	3
Noble.....	88	Columbia.....	130	DeKalb.....	6
Ottawa.....	38	Crawford.....	644	Davidson.....	67
Paulding.....	16	Cumberland.....	105	Green.....	56
Perry.....	29	Dauphin.....	128	Gibson.....	60
Pickaway.....	44	Delaware.....	171	Giles.....	12
Pike.....	26	Elk.....	81	Granger.....	8
Portage.....	217	Erie.....	631	Hamblin.....	31
Preble.....	208	Fayette.....	215	Hamilton.....	49
Putnam.....	34	Forest.....	27	Hancock.....	2
Richland.....	141	Franklin.....	117	Hickman.....	4
Ross.....	44	Fulton.....	13	Humphrey.....	5
Sandusky.....	92	Greene.....	142	Jackson.....	6
Scioto.....	30	Huntingdon.....	165	James.....	11
Seneca.....	117	Indiana.....	385	Jefferson.....	44
Shelby.....	34	Jefferson.....	112	Johnson.....	3
Stark.....	201	Juniata.....	19	Knox.....	147
Summit.....	332	Lackawanna.....	541	Lauderdale.....	44
Trumbull.....	313	Lancaster.....	297	Lincoln.....	27
Tuscarawas.....	114	Lawrence.....	270	McMinn.....	5
Union.....	133	Lebanon.....	8	Madison.....	22
Van Wert.....	48	Lehigh.....	82	Marshall.....	25
Vinton.....	20	Luzerne.....	537	Mauzy.....	29
Warren.....	76	Lycoming.....	214	Monroe.....	11
Washington.....	74	McKean.....	346	Montgomery.....	9
Wayne.....	200	Mercer.....	534	Moore.....	5
Williams.....	83	Mifflin.....	64	Morgan.....	9
Wood.....	190	Monroe.....	24	Obion.....	6
Wyandot.....	56	Montgomery.....	215	Perry.....	1
		Montour.....	46	Rhea.....	3
Total.....	11,269	Northampton.....	149	Rutherford.....	10
		Northumberland.....	191	Sevier.....	16
Oregon.		Perry.....	60	Smith.....	22
Baker.....	5	Philadelphia.....	1,279	Sullivan.....	33
Benton.....	57	Pike.....	10	Sumner.....	20
Clackamas.....	16	Potter.....	102	Tipton.....	6
Clatsop.....	3	Schuykill.....	149	Trousdale.....	2
Columbia.....	3	Snyder.....	39		

HANDBOOK OF PROHIBITION.

Warren.....	6	Montgomery.....	5	Nicholas.....	26
Wayne.....	1	Navarro.....	4	Ohio.....	72
Weakley.....	10	Nolan.....	5	Pendleton.....	1
White.....	3	Palo Pinto.....	25	Pleasants.....	14
Wilson.....	66	Parlur.....	126	Pocahontas.....	10
Total.....	1,123	Red River.....	30	Preston.....	19
Texas.					
Anderson.....	1	San Saba.....	8	Putnam.....	9
Archer.....	5	Shackelford.....	1	Raleigh.....	5
Austin.....	6	Shelby.....	1	Randolph.....	7
Bastrop.....	6	Smith.....	1	Ritchie.....	60
Baylor.....	7	Somervell.....	41	Roane.....	3
Bee.....	3	Scurry.....	2	Summers.....	28
Bell.....	76	Stephens.....	11	Taylor.....	10
Bexar.....	14	Tarrant.....	201	Tyler.....	8
Blanco.....	21	Taylor.....	10	Upshur.....	16
Bosque.....	6	Tom Green.....	15	Wayne.....	1
Bowie.....	14	Travis.....	8	Wetzel.....	3
Brazoria.....	2	Tyler.....	1	Wirt.....	11
Brazos.....	5	Van Zandt.....	115	Wood.....	64
Brown.....	85	Washington.....	37	Wyoming.....	3
Burleson.....	56	Wheeler.....	4	Total.....	949
Burnet.....	101	Wichita.....	2	Wisconsin.	
Caldwell.....	7	Williamson.....	113	Adams.....	9
Cherokee.....	32	Wise.....	90	Ashland.....	16
Clay.....	22	Wood.....	4	Barron.....	70
Coleman.....	2	Young.....	1	Bayfield.....	1
Collin.....	128	Total.....	3,556	Brown.....	44
Comanche.....	4	Vermont.		Buffalo.....	3
Cooke.....	13	Addison.....	170	Burnet.....	1
Dallas.....	160	Bennington.....	29	Calumet.....	48
Delta.....	11	Caledonia.....	281	Chippewa.....	48
Denton.....	163	Chittenden.....	75	Clark.....	53
De Witt.....	1	Essex.....	60	Columbia.....	248
Eastland.....	2	Franklin.....	226	Crawford.....	35
Ellis.....	52	Grand Isle.....	18	Dane.....	571
Erath.....	112	Lamoille.....	73	Dodge.....	96
Falls.....	6	Orange.....	117	Door.....	34
Fannin.....	83	Orleans.....	125	Douglas.....	1
Fayette.....	3	Rutland.....	160	Dunn.....	60
Franklin.....	27	Washington.....	167	Eau Claire.....	152
Frio.....	2	Windham.....	136	Florence.....	4
Galveston.....	24	Windsor.....	115	Fond du Lac.....	214
Gonzales.....	30	Total.....	1,752	Grant.....	347
Grayson.....	219	Virginia.		Green.....	349
Gregg.....	27	Total vote.....	138	Green Lake.....	155
Grimes.....	3	West Virginia.		Iowa.....	385
Hamilton.....	15	Barbour.....	2	Jackson.....	41
Harris.....	4	Berkeley.....	35	Jefferson.....	209
Harrison.....	29	Brook.....	15	Juneau.....	125
Hays.....	35	Cabell.....	20	Kenosha.....	30
Henderson.....	20	Clay.....	4	Kewaunee.....	9
Hill.....	5	Doddridge.....	23	La Crosse.....	125
Hood.....	121	Fayette.....	24	La Fayette.....	230
Hopkins.....	11	Gilmer.....	3	Langlade.....	23
Hunt.....	2	Grant.....	3	Lincoln.....	14
Jack.....	69	Greenbrier.....	40	Manitowoc.....	37
Johnson.....	86	Hampshire.....	2	Marathon.....	22
Jones.....	13	Hancock.....	9	Marquette.....	101
Karnes.....	13	Harrison.....	34	Marquette.....	39
Kaufman.....	81	Jackson.....	18	Milwaukee.....	221
Lamar.....	63	Jefferson.....	3	Monroe.....	138
Lampasas.....	160	Kenosha.....	87	Oconto.....	53
Lee.....	29	Lewis.....	1	Outagamie.....	70
Limestone.....	18	Lincoln.....	1	Ozaukee.....	9
Live Oak.....	1	Marion.....	51	Pepin.....	8
Llano.....	59	Marshall.....	48	Pierce.....	156
McCulloch.....	3	Mason.....	53	Polk.....	90
McLennan.....	112	Mineral.....	16	Portage.....	76
Marion.....	4	Monongalia.....	19	Price.....	2
Mason.....	9	Monroe.....	29	Racine.....	299
Milam.....	147	Morgan.....	14	Richland.....	215
Mitchell.....	22			Rock.....	370
Montague.....	13			St. Croix.....	107
				Sauk.....	244

TOTAL VOTE AT FOUR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

Sawyer.....	5	Walworth.....	345	Wood.....	7
Shawano.....	43	Washburn.....	47	Winnebago.....	341
Sheboygan.....	107	Washington.....	18		
Taylor.....	1	Waukesha.....	263	Total.....	7,656
Trempealeau.....	100	Waupaca.....	92		
Vernon.....	195	Waushara.....	85	Grand total.....	153,905

Total Vote at Four Presidential Elections.

STATES.	ST. JOHN, 1884.	DOW, 1880.	SMITH, 1876.	BLACK, 1872.
Alabama.....	610	.....	.....	.....
California.....	2,959	61	.....	.....
Colorado.....	761	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	2,495	412	378	205
Delaware.....	55	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	72	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	195	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	11,984	440	141	.....
Indiana.....	3,028	600	.....	.....
Iowa.....	1,474	.....	36	.....
Kansas.....	4,495	.....	110	.....
Kentucky.....	3,139	234	818	.....
Louisiana.....	458	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	2,160	93	.....	.....
Maryland.....	2,827	.....	10	.....
Massachusetts.....	9,923	682	84	.....
Michigan.....	18,403	1,106	767	1,272
Minnesota.....	4,618	280	172	.....
Missouri.....	2,159	.....	64	.....
Nebraska.....	2,899	.....	1,599	.....
New Hampshire.....	1,803	189	.....	200
New Jersey.....	6,207	191	43	.....
New York.....	25,115	2,077	2,359	201
North Carolina.....	454	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	11,269	2,616	1,636	2,100
Oregon.....	490	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	15,787	1,955	1,319	1,630
Rhode Island.....	928	25	68	.....
South Carolina.....	* 1,237	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	1,123	43	.....	.....
Texas.....	3,556	.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	1,752	105	.....	.....
Virginia.....	138	440	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	949	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	7,656	91	155
Totals.....	153,128	11,640	9,759	5,608

* Reported as "scattering."

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NOTES:

- (1) McClintock Strong's Cyclopedia, Vol. 10, page 247.
- (2) For the use of this word "Alcoholism," see Handbook of 1884, pages 18—21.
- (3) See Handbook of Prohibition of 1884, pages 69—89. Also "Prohibition Text Book," J. N. Stearns, 58 Reade St., New York City.
- (4) "The Lever" of June 12th.
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) "The Advance" of Oct. 30th, 1884.
- (7) Ibid.
- (8) Ibid.
- (9) Ibid.
- (10) The Blaine & Logan campaign of 1884, T. B. Boyd. Page 193.
- (11) Ibid. Page 190.
- (12) Ibid. Page 191.
- (13) The Daily News Almanac and Political Record of 1885. The Tribune Almanac gives 1,047 as Mr. Cleveland's plurality.
- (14) Mr. N. F. Woodbury, in Lake Bluff lecture, August 1883, "Prohibition in Maine."
- (15) "Liquor Problem in all Ages." Page 298.
- (16) Ibid.
- (17) Ibid. Page 299.
- (18) Hon. Nelson Dingley, Jr.
- (19) Mr. N. F. Woodbury, in "Prohibition in Maine."
- (20) Rev. S. W. Ingham, in Northwestern Christian Advocate, Sept. 24th, 1884.

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